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BIHAR AND ORISSA  
RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XXII

1936



PATNA

PUBLISHED BY THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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## ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO CONTRIBUTORS

		PAGE
1.	Banerji-Sastri, Dr. A., M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)— The Transformation of Nature in Art. By <i>Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy</i> . Harvard Uni- versity Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1934. (Review by) .. .. .	22
	Rājadharmakaustubhaḥ of Anantadeva. Edited by the late <i>Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamala Kṛṣṇa</i> <i>Smṛtitīrtha</i> . Oriental Institute, Baroda. Gaek- wad's Oriental Series, Volume No. LXXII, 1935 (Review by) .. .. .	22
	Mauryan Public Finance. By <i>M. H. Gopal</i> M.A., Ph.D. (London), Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Mysore. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1935 (Review by)	30
	An Early History of Kauśāmbi. By <i>Nagendra</i> <i>Nath Ghosh, M. A.</i> (Review by) .. .. .	116
	Vedāṅga Jyautisha, edited by <i>Dr. Shamasastri</i> (Review by) .. .. .	283
2.	Basu, K.K., M.A., T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur.— An approach to the Sirat-i-Fīroz Shāhī ..	13
	An Account of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq (From Sirat- i-Fīroz Shāhī) .. .. .	96
	An Account of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq (From Sirat- i-Fīroz Shāhī) [in continuation of Page 96, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII] .. .. .	265
3.	Bhattacharya, Bhabatosh., M.A., B.L.— The place of Agastyasaṁhitā in Dharmaśāstra Literature .. .. .	111
4.	Chaudhuri, P.C., M.A., I.C.S.— The cult of Tārā and an Image from Pārbatī (with plate) .. .. .	293



	PAGE
5. Chaudhuri, Dr. Tarapada, M.A., Ph.D.— The Uṇadisūtras, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 7, Pts. 1, 2 and 6. <i>Edited by</i> T. R. <i>Chintamani, M.A. (Review by)</i> .. ..	122
6. Heras, Rev. H., S. J.— Two proto-Indian Inscriptions from Chāñhu Daro	308
7. Jayaswal, K. P., M.A. (Oxon.)— On Some Hindu Coins of pre-Christian Centu- ries (with plates II-IV) .. ..	59
New Coins of Nāga-Vākāṭaka Period (with plate I)	70
Rājgīr (Maniār Maṭh) Stone Image Inscription (with plate V) .. ..	79
An unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal (with plate) .. ..	81
Nepal Chronicles on the Caste of the Guptas..	108
Chronology and History of Nepal, 600 B. C. to 880 A. D. .. ..	157
Notice of a New Arthaśāstra Commentary ..	286
Rājanīti Ratnākara. <i>By Chandēśvara (Edited by)</i> App. to Part IV	
8. Misra, Janardana, M.A., Ph.D.— Dholā-Mārūr-ā-Dūhā. A mediaeval folk-song of Rājputānā in Rājasthānī Dialect of Hindi. <i>Edited by Messrs. Rām Singh, M.A., Viśārada,</i> <i>Sūrya Karaṇa Parīka, M.A., Viśārada, and</i> <i>Narottama Dāsa, Svāmī, M.A., Viśārada and</i> <i>published by the Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, Kāśī</i> <i>(Review by)</i> .. ..	56
9. Oldham, C. E. A. W., C.S.I.— Dantapura and Pāluru in Northern Ganjam ..	1
10. Prasad, Durga— Nava Nāga in Early Indian Coins .. ..	77
11. Sāṅkṛityāyana, Rev. Rāhula, Tripiṭakāchārya— Vādanyāya (continued from J B O R S, Decem- ber 1935) <i>Edited by</i> .. ..	75
12. Sharma, Dasharatha.—Professor Winternitz on the Kaumudī Mahotsava .. ..	275



## ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO ARTICLES

	PAGE
Account, an, of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq (From Sirat ī-Fīroz Shāhī). By Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A., T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur .. .. .	96,265
Approach, an, to the Sirat-ī-Fīroz Shāhī. By Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A., T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur ..	13
Chronology and History of Nepal, 600 B. C. to 880 A.D. By K. P. Jayaswal.. .. .	157
Cult of Tārā and an Image from Pārbatī (with plate) By P. C. Chaudhuri, M.A., I.C.S. .. .. .	293
Dantapura and Pāluru in Northern Ganjam. By C. E. A. W. Oldham, C. S. I. .. .. .	I
Nava Nāga in Early Indian Coins. By Durga Prasad ..	77
Nepal Chronicles on the Caste of the Guptas. By K. P. Jayaswal .. .. .	108
New Coins of Nāga-Vākātaka Period (with plate I). By K. P. Jayaswal .. .. .	70
On Some Hindu Coins of pre-Christian Centuries (with plates II-IV). By K. P. Jayaswal .. .. .	59
Place, the, of Agastyasamhitā in Dharmaśāstra Litera- ture. By Bhabotosh Bhattacharya M.A., B.L. ..	III
Professor Winternitz on the Kaumudī-Mahotsava. By Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A. .. .. .	275
Rājanīti Ratnākara by Chandēśvara. Edited by K. P. Jayaswal. App. to Part IV	
Rājgīr (Maniār Math) Stone Image Inscription (with plate V). By K. P. Jayaswal .. .. .	79
Two Proto-Indian Inscriptions from Chāñhu Daro by the Rev H. Heras, S.J. .. .. .	308
Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal (with plate). By K. P. Jayaswal .. .. .	81



## LIST OF PLATES

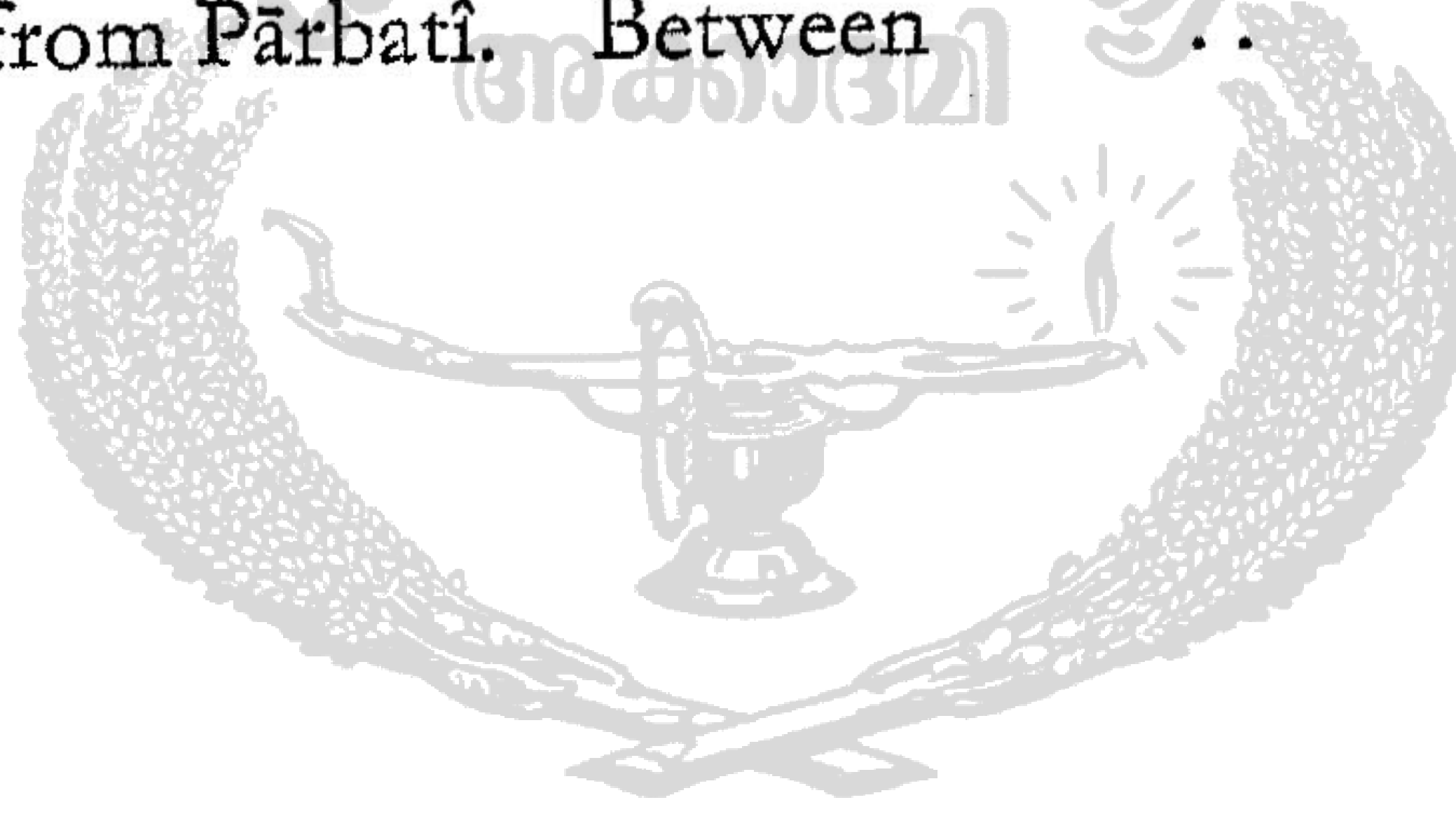
	PAGE
Moulds from Yaudheya Mint at Rohtak facing ..	58
Copper Coins .. .. .	62
Coins of Śrāvastī .. .. .	66
Śrī-Bhava-Nāga .. .. .	72
Rājgīr (Maniār Maṭh) Image Inscription .. ..	80
Svayambhū Nāth Inscription of the Nepal year 492 (1371 A.D.) .. .. .	94
Beginning of line 30 of Thānkoṭ Inscription of Mānadeva and Jishṇu Gupta .. .. .	164
Leaves of the Sumati-tantra .. .. .	191
A Tārā Image from Pārbatī .. .. .	302





## INDEX TO PLATES

	PAGE
Moulds from Yaudheya Mint at Rohtak. Facing ..	58
Copper Coins. Between .. .. .	62-63
Coins of Śrāvastî. Between .. .. .	66-67
Śri-Bhava-Nāga. Between .. .. .	72-73
Rājgīr (Maniār Maṭh) Image Inscription. Between ..	80-81
Svayambhū Nāth Inscription of the Nepal year 492 (1371 A.D.). Between .. .. .	94-95
Beginning of line 30 of Thānkoṭ Inscription of Māna- deva and Jishṇu Gupta. Between ..	164-165
Leaves of the Sumati-tantra. Between ..	190-191
A Tārā Image from Pārbatî. Between ..	302-303





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**An Account of the Districts  
of  
Bihar and Patna  
in  
1811-1812**

*By*  
**FRANCIS BUCHANAN**

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**JOURNAL**  
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**December 1936**  
**CONTENTS**

*Leading Articles*

	PAGE
I. The Cult of Tārā and an Image from Pārbatī (with plate) <i>By P. C. Chaudhuri, M.A., I.C.S.</i> ..	293
II. Two Proto-Indian Inscriptions from Chañihu Daro <i>By The Rev. H. Heras, S. J.</i> .. .. .	308

*Appendix*

I. Rājanīti-Ratnākara <i>By</i> Chaṇḍeśvara, <i>Edited By</i> <i>K. P. Jayaswal</i> .. .. .	I
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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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VOL. XXII ]

1936

[ PART I

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### Leading Articles

#### DANTAPURA AND PĀLŪRU IN NORTHERN GANJĀM

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.

Mr. Jayaswal has published, at pp. 137-38 above (Vol. XXI, Pt. III), a translation by the late Professor Sylvain Lévi of a passage from Anquetil Duperron's description of his adventurous journey from Bengal to Pondicherry in 1757, in which he mentions an *aldée* (Port. *aldea*, a 'village') named "Paloor" between the Chilka lake and Ganjām. This is the existing village of Pālūru at the northern extremity of the Ganjām district, about 6 miles N.E. of Ganjām town.

When Professor Lévi wrote his note on "Paloura-Dantapura" in *J. A.*, tome CCVI (Jan.-March 1925<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Translated by S. M. Edwardes in *I. A.* LV (1926), pp. 94-99.



he had possibly not seen Henry Yule's notes at p. 23 of Dr. Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography*<sup>1</sup> on the "sources and authorities" for the map of Ancient India prepared by him for that Atlas, in which he had, more than fifty years earlier, already indicated that Ptolemy's "Paloura" (Bk. I., Chap. I) probably represented this very site. Yule also pointed out that the site had been referred to by de Barros in his *Decada I* (first published in 1552) and by Linschoten (whose material was collected prior to 1592).

Unfortunately most of the towns and rivers between the Kāvērī and the Ganges named by Ptolemy have not yet been satisfactorily identified, due to some extent to a reluctance to accept Lassen's conclusion that the Manada, Mandas or Manda of Ptolemy was the Mahānadī; but there can be little or no doubt that his Paloura was close to the modern Ganjām, where the village of Pālūru still lies. The site was known to most of the old European cartographers, and figures as "Palhor," or in some similar form, in the maps, for instance, of Ortelius, Hondius, Speed, Cluverius, Mariette, Dudley (*Arcano della Mare*), Blaeu, Sanson, and Vignola, to mention only a few of those published in the 16th and 17th centuries.

As Linschoten's reference to the place is the most useful in some ways, I give below a translation of the relevant passage from the French edition of his *Grand Routier de Mer*, which was published at Amsterdam in 1638<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *An Atlas of Ancient Geography*, ed. by William Smith, London, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Grand Routier de Mer de Jean Hugues de Linschot Hollandois ..... traduit de Flameng en Francois*. Amsterdam, 1638.



Describing the sea route from Trincomalee northwards to Orissa, Linschoten refers to Godāvarī Point and then to the 'Puacota' river (the modern Bāruva at the mouth of which Duperron found a small port, which he transcribes as Baroüa). The name Puacota appears on many of the old maps of the 17th and 18th centuries, but it is not found on modern maps. Along this coast, Linschoten writes, the land is "high and hilly (the Eastern Ghāṭs) and easily seen from a distance. From the Puacota river as far as another river, known as Paluor, or Palura, (i.e., the Rushikulyā) twelve leagues distant (about 40 English miles) one sails along the coast E. to S.W. (a slip for S.W. to N.E). Beyond this river (Rushikulyā) there is to be seen a high hill called *A Serra de Palura* ('the Palura range'), which is the highest hill on the coast. This river lies in (north latitude) 19°-30'. From the said river onwards to a point called *A derradeira terra alta*, that is to say, the last high-land, the coast follows the same direction as before, and the distance is seven leagues (about 24 miles). This point lies in (north latitude) 19°-40'. Here the high mountainous country ends, and thereafter the land is all low and the shore sandy as far as the place called *As Palmeiras*, that is to say, the Palms (Palmyras Point)."

The above account of Linschoten is corroborated by the information given by the Turkish admiral, Siolī Alī Shelebī, in his famous work, the *Muḥīṭ*, and by that furnished by the early Portuguese charts and maps. The *Muḥīṭ*<sup>1</sup> indicates at this site a hill named

<sup>1</sup> *Die Topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Mohit*. Trans. & ed. by M. Bittner and W. Tomaschek. Vienna, 1897.



*Jebel Falūr*, and the Portuguese maps a hill called *Serra de Paluro*, or *Palor*, both of which titles mean “the hill of Palura.” A reference to the Survey of

India sheet  $74\frac{E}{3}$  shows that the modern village of

Pālūru lies at the northern foot of Pālūru Pahār, which rises to a height of 580 ft. above s.l. within half a mile of the shore of the Bay of Bengal. Close by, within half a mile or so, to the N.W. by W. of Pālūru is a second hill marked 712 ft., and beyond this to the West are even higher spurs from the northern outliers of the Eastern Ghāṭs.

Though the name Ganjām itself is of undetermined derivation, and is possibly of comparatively modern origin, we have reason to believe that the area about the lower course of the Rushikulyā, perhaps included in the Koṅgoḍa country visited by Hsüan Tsang in the early part of the 7th century, was an important one, containing as it did the old fort of Jaugaḍa, once the site of what seems to have been a walled town of sufficient note to merit the record of Aśoka's edicts, besides other sites where inscriptions have been found, but which do not seem, to judge from the exiguous accounts in the published records, to have been fully explored as yet.

Whether the equation of Dantapura with Pālūru should be accepted, is another matter. Hsüan Tsang does not make any direct reference to the “tooth town” in his record; but the fact that he tells us that from Charitrapura (could this possibly be the modern Chatrapur? Probably not, as the local name appears



to have been Sītārāmpalle,<sup>1</sup>) “On calm nights one could see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha’s tooth-relic in Ceylon” is suggestive. Personally I incline to the view held by so many scholars that we must look for Dantapura somewhere near the embouchure of the Vamśadhara, either at or near the ancient Simhapura. The town was undoubtedly in ancient Kalinga, and the most reliable evidence points to the original Kalinga being distinct from Odra and Koṅga, and as situated to the south thereof. The very name Kalingapatam by the mouth of the Vamśadhara is self-explanatory. Moreover, wherever Ptolemy’s *Aphetērion eis Chrusēn Chersonēson* may have been, admittedly the only safe, sheltered port on the east coast between Coringa in the estuary of the Godāvarī and Orissa proper was Kalingapatam. The ancient port was therefore probably in this locality. But we must perhaps await the thorough exploration by trained archaeologists of these areas, as well as of the Mukhalingam-Nagarakatakam vicinity.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, we may have to revise the current conception of the *Kung-yü-t’o* country visited by Hsüan Tsang from Orissa. It should be noted that from the *Wu-t’u*, or *U-t’u* country he travelled over 1200 *li* “through forest... The people were tall

<sup>1</sup> *Ganjām District Manual*. Re-issue, 1918, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> There are some sites to the NE. of the fort at Ganjām and across the river to the south, near Nalinaugum, besides the Jaugaḍa and Kallikota areas that might repay exploration. I mention Kallikota because this apparently represents a name that appears on many of the oldest maps of this coast, and so it was probably a place of note in olden days.



and valorous and of a black complexion...”; and again, from the *Kung-yü-t’o* country he travelled 1400 or 1500 *li* “through jungle and forest with huge trees” to *Ka-leng-ka*. Now, had he gone from Jāipur or some other centre in the Odra country to Ganjām, and from Ganjām on to Kalinga proper by the obvious and customary route, he would not have had to travel such long distances, nor pass through forest country for great part of the way, as we may understand his description to mean. Though *Kung-yü-t’o* extended down to the coast—“bordering on a bay of the sea” (evidently what is now the Chilka lake), it was a “hilly country,” and of comparatively small extent. Who were these “tall and valorous” people “of black complexion” (Watters), “brave and impulsive,” “tall of stature and black complexioned and dirty” (Beal)? Is it possible that they were the Kandhs or Kondhs, the ‘people of the hills’? Risley tells us that the Kandhs are supposed to have entered the Kandhmāls from the south; he also refers to their fine physique. If Hsüan Tsang had visited or passed through the Kandh country, he would have had to pass through forest country, both in going there and in journeying on thence to Kalinga, as he describes; and the lengths of his journeys could be better understood. Moreover, his account of the “large dark-coloured elephants” would also apply to that area. Could the name Koṅgoḍa be connected with these people and their hill forts (*gudā*)? The question of the capital town remains: this may have been in what is now one of the Feudatory States. The people had access to the sea, possibly through places on the



shore of the Chilka, or in the estuary of the Rushi-kulyā, the head streams of which emerge from the hill country to the north and north-west. The north-western parts of the country would border on Southern Kosala, and this may explain why it became at one time a *maṇḍala*, or 'Division,' as we might call it, of that kingdom. These observations must be regarded merely as suggestions arising from a study of the *Si-yü-ki* and Hwui Li's *Life*.

Duperron's narrative is interesting also from other points of view. It recalls to us the fact that in former times the highway from Puri to Madras followed the coast line as far as Ganjām, not, as now, passing round the north of the Chilka lake. The old road, which is clearly shown on the road maps published by G. Herklots in 1828<sup>1</sup> and by J. B. Tassin in 1836<sup>2</sup>, ran from Puri W. by S. for about 9 miles to Narsingapatam, a place now of no importance, but shown on the old maps and sailing charts: this is the *caukī* ("Tchoki") which Duperron mentions as being 3 kos from Jagrenat (Puri). There he struck a river, which he calls the "Tchilka," by the side of which his road continued as far as Manikpatam, where this river "discharged into the sea." This was the Harchandi of modern maps, which, according to the latest edition of the *District Gazetteer*, flows "through sand and

<sup>1</sup> *Illustrations of the Roads throughout Bengal, including those to Madras and Bombay* (maps drawn by G. Herklots). Calcutta, 1828.

<sup>2</sup> *Map of the Post Office Stations and Post and Bangy Routes throughout British India*, by J. B. Tassin, from materials collected and arranged by Captain T. J. Taylor, Secretary to the Committee for Revision of Customs and Post Office Departments in India. Calcutta, 1838.



consequently it has become much silted up and is very shallow." Beyond Manikpatam, Duperron crossed "the Chilka" where it was very broad—and here he seems to mean the outlet from the lake into the sea—half way by a ford and the remaining part on a kind of ferry craft common enough in former days, but apparently unknown to Prof. Lévi, to judge by his translation. Duperron's description should be translated thus :—

"Half of this river was fordable: I crossed the remaining part in a craft made by joining two *balāum* together."

Indian readers will at once recognise the nature of the ferry boat. Duperron himself describes its character when relating his crossing of "the river of Balasore" (Burhābalang) as being "constructed of two hollowed-out tree trunks secured together by bamboo planks laid crosswise over them." As far as I know, the name *balāum* has not found currency in Bihār, but it is used on the coasts of India and Malaya. It occurs as *balão* in Portuguese, and is used in this and similar forms by many of the early Portuguese historians, and in the forms 'baloon,' 'balaum,' 'bal-long,' etc., by old English travellers in India, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya. The derivation is obscure, but there is a Malay word *balang*; and Molesworth in his *Marathi Dictionary* gives *balyāiv* as meaning 'a small kind of boat.' On the Chittagong side it is called *balāum*. The only illustration of a *balāum* that I know of is that given by B. Solvyns in Vol. III, Section 9, Plate 14 of his "*Collection of Coloured Etchings descriptive*



of the Manners, Customs, ..... of the Hindus<sup>1</sup>. In his *Catalogue*<sup>2</sup> of letterpress explaining the drawings he writes: "A Chittagong Balaum, built on a Scringee (i.e., *sarangī*) having the planks sewn together with Cane or Hemp"; and a Scringee he explains as "being an Ek-gachee (what is called a *ḍongā* in Bihār) with the addition of some Planks on each side."

At Manikpatam Duperron saw neither houses nor trees. The site, which is marked on nearly all the old maps and navigation charts from the *Muhīt* onwards, had evidently lost its importance as a harbour or point of call, perhaps temporarily, as it is marked on Rennell's *Map of Hindoostan* (1782), Herklots' Road Map (1828) and Allen's Map of India (1846). Whether there is a village there now seems doubtful, as it is not marked on the 1 mile to the inch Survey sheet 74<sup>E</sup>/<sub>10</sub>, or the 4 miles to the inch sheet 74E, though it is shown on the smaller scale sheet (about 16 mi. = 1 in.) 74 ! and from the map in the *Dist. Gazetteer* there would appear to be a Post Office there. I may also note here perhaps that Samuel Dunn, in his *New Directory for the East Indies* (London, 1780) records that "Manikpatam ..... is known by a little pagoda, encompassed with houses and other buildings, with some large trees."

Having crossed this channel at Manikpatam, it is evident from his account that Duperron on his journey (June, 1757) met with no further breaches of this nature up to 'Maloud' and onwards to Ganjām.

<sup>1</sup> Original edition in 4 vols. folio, hand drawn and coloured, Calcutta, 1799.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of 250 Coloured Etchings*..... 8vo, Calcutta, 1799.



This state of things would seem to have prevailed from the beginning of the century at any rate. In 1708 Alexander Hamilton travelled by land from Ganjām to Puri by the same route as Duperron, but in the opposite direction. After passing Pālūru (which by some clerical error has been printed "Illure" in his book) he "came to Manikpatam, where there is a great Inlet from the Sea..... The Mogul had an officer there, who examined whence we came, and whither we were bound."<sup>1</sup> His record suggests that this was the only channel at the time between the Chilka lake and the sea; it also indicates that this coast road was then a highway, as an official of the Mughal Government was stationed there (probably a *faujdar*, as in Duperron's day) to keep an eye on travellers. The same or similar conditions seem to have continued up to about the middle of the last century, as the maps of Herklots (1828), Tassin (1838) and Allen (1846) all show the gap in the coast line near Manikpatam, while from that site onwards the road is drawn as running uninterruptly as far as Ganjām. On the other hand, the latest large scale Survey sheets (1 in. = 1 mi.) show that the sandy stretch between Manikpatam and Pālūru has become so cut up by water channels that the old coast road has practically disappeared. When Colonel Harcourt, in command of a British force, marched from Ganjām to Puri and Cuttack in Sept.-Oct., 1803, he passed "along the strip of coast between the sea and the

<sup>1</sup> *A New Account of the East Indies, being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton.* Edinburgh, 1727, vol. I, p. 380.



Chilka lake..... it took two days to cross the dangerous channel at Manikpatam through which the Chilka lake communicates with the sea.”<sup>1</sup> Toynbee, in his *Sketch of the History of Orissa*, also states that at that time (1803) the traffic from the south passed along the eastern shore of the Chilka lake, between it and the sea, to Puri.<sup>1</sup> Is the sea tending to reassert its old supremacy? Relevant to such an inquiry is the question of the small temple, “resembling a pine-apple from a distance,” which Duperron saw standing solitarily amidst the sand about six miles before reaching Pālūru, that is to say, about mid-way between Mālud and Pālūru. I cannot find any temple marked at this site on the Survey sheets; but on Thornton’s “New Chart of Orixa and Galconda”<sup>2</sup> a “pagode on a sand-hill” is marked between Mālud and Manikpatam; and we have noticed above the “little pagoda” at (or near?) Manikpatam mentioned by Dunn.<sup>3</sup> Thus the available evidence would seem to show that the sea and sand have been encroaching within the past few centuries.

The word “Cari” used frequently by Duperron appears to me to represent the Hindī word *khārī*, meaning ‘brackish,’ ‘saline,’ cf. *khārī mittī*, ‘saline earth.’ By it he refers to a salt-pan (*uppalamu* in Telugu), many of which he passed on his way south.

The “Pagoda of Tirvikarey” was probably the

<sup>1</sup> Puri *Gazetteer* (ed. of 1929), pp. 47, 215.

<sup>2</sup> *The English Pilot*, by Samuel Thornton (edition of 1716 by Sayer and Bennett.)

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Hamilton also saw near Manikpatam “a pagode on a little hill built of iron-coloured stone” (*ibid.*, p. 380-381).



well-known Candramaulīśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai in the S. Arcot district.

The *kos* measure adopted by Duperron works out at about 3 miles, which is also the length calculated by John Marshall (1670)<sup>1</sup> for the *kos* in Orissa, which is longer than the Bihār *kos*. Taking this equivalent, the distances noted by Duperron are remarkably accurate on the whole.



<sup>1</sup> *John Marshall in India*, ed. by S. A. Khan, 1927, pp. 64, 86, n. 24.



## AN APPROACH TO THE SĪRAT-I-FĪROZ SHĀHĪ

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Among the original and authentic sources of the reign of Firoz Shāh, the third Tughluq Sultan of Delhi, Zia-ud-dīn Barni and Afif are most common and frequently consulted. The works of both the authors are named alike and called Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī. Barni incorporates in his work whatever events he has seen during the six years of the reign of the Sultan, but Afif's work is devoted exclusively to the reign of the Sultan, and therefore, has a better right to the title than Barni's work.

The third authority of the period is Fatuhāt-i-Fīroz Shāhī, a work which gives a short summary of the victories of Fīroz Shāh. This work is supposed to be the production of the Sultan himself.

Besides the three sources alluded to above, there is another, called Sīrat-i-Fīroz Shāhī. It also embodies an account of Fīroz Shāh. The writer's weight of testimony is unquestionable, for, he was living at the time when the events described by him took place. Composed in 772 H. or 1370 A. D. the Sīrat-i-Fīroz Shāhī is devoted to the narration of events during the reign of Sultan Fīroz, beginning with his accession to the throne (1351 A. D.) and ending with the expedition that he undertook against Thatha or Guzarat some twenty years later.



The work is now almost extinct. Its only copy, so far as is at present known, is to be found, in the form of manuscript, in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, that is so rich in valuable and rare collection of oriental lore. The transcription of the work referred to, as seen from its epilogue, was completed in *Rabi-us-Sanee* 1002 H. (Dec. 1593-Jan. 1594). It bears the imperial seals of the Mughal Emperors Shāh Jehan and Aurangzeb, thereby proving that, it once belonged to the royal possession or to the family library of the imperial household. The work contains 182 folios, with seventeen lines in a page, and in size it is  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ .

Thickly set with fulsome flattery of and glowing tribute to the Sultan, the book only breaks the spell of monotony and releases the readers from the dulness that is so natural in a work of this type, by a refreshing variety of interests. The first of the four chapters in which the work has been divided, gives a historic survey of the reign of Fīroz Shāh from his investiture to the conquest of Guzarat. The second gives an account of his acts of justice, charitable deeds, benevolence, suppression of evil and murder and so forth: the description of the birds and animals and their mode of living etc. The third deals with an account of canals and edifices constructed during the reign, and of the cultivation of crop in the country. The last chapter is concerned with astronomy, description of observatories erected by the Sultan and of instruments of war.

Its unapproachable standard of rhetorical excellence and of historic art give to the work a high



position in Persian literature. In ornateness of diction the work has hardly any equal, every page being embellished with the choicest flowers that the tropical gardens of Arabic and Persian languages could provide. Eloquent in style, sweet in diction, vocabulary copious, analogies apt, rhymes soothing, metaphors beautiful, with a fine flow of rhetoric and ingenious flourishes, the work gives the impress of a scholarly, masterful and accomplished hand in its composition. It has been suggested that the work, excepting the preface that was added by some one else, was dictated by Fīroz Shāh himself, and such being the case the credit of being its author goes to him.

We have undertaken the translation and editing of the whole work, and in the following pages a translation of the prologue and the epilogue has been attempted. Owing to the incorrectness of the text due to the negligence or ignorance of the transcriber who has indulged in many sins of omission and commission, a correct reading of the text and its translation are by no means a simple and easy task. An attempt, however, has been made, as far as practicable, to make a correct reading and a close and true rendering of the text.

### PROLOGUE

With the name of Allah, the Merciful and the Compassionate !

### VERSE

The work, Sirat-i- Fīroz Shāhī,  
With Divine aid compiled.



Whatever respiration is made by an animate  
being,

Thanksgiving to God is it, and nothing else !

Coins of His ordinance beyond alteration,

Area of His dominion beyond conception.

Eternal is He, the creator of the world,

A tiding of joy to the living, whom He imparts  
life;

It's He, the creator of Life and Death ;

How can Death overcome Him ?

Its He who decorated each of the Heavens,

\* \* \* \* \*

He, who is generous in favours, may His benefactions be upon all! has made thanksgiving to be the cause of greater benefits from Him, but, as felicity is allotted and decreed, and there are human beings of different nature, proper expression of gratitude is beyond the scope of every individual. It is therefore, that, at the outset, the favours and graces, the honours and gifts that by the kindness and grace of God The Most High, were conferred on His Majesty, the protector of Sovereigns, and the shadow of God, Abu Muzaffar Fīroz Shāh, the Sultan, may God his kingdom perpetuate, have been mentioned.

### VERSE

That majestic Haider<sup>2</sup>, whose Zulfaqar<sup>3</sup>.

Left scar on the head of enemies;

On every matter he conferred repose,

<sup>1</sup> The last line is found wanting.

<sup>2</sup> Name of 'Alī, son-in-law of Muhammad.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the famous two-edged sword of 'Alī.



Every country on him bestowed;  
 Ashamed was the ocean envious of his respect,  
 Him she produced royal pearls !

It is admitted and acknowledged by the public that, many times and oft, crusades and expeditions being undertaken by the Sultan personally against the infidels and rebels, ended, with the help of God, in victory and in the acquisition of superiority in the holy wars.

#### VERSE

God his friend, His orders an escort, grace a  
 companion,  
 Prosperity a fellow-traveller, victory a close  
 friend, felicity a boon companion !

At all events, the possession of big pearls comes to him who dives deep into the ocean of grave risks.

#### VERSE

On his lap put the Sultan, the country--a bride !  
 And gave he kisses on her sharp lips.  
 The throne of the country God presented him  
 with,  
 Whatever bestows He, in apple-pie-order re-  
 mains !

One of those laudable virtues and commendable talents of the Emperor is that, at the time of his coronation and in the age of confirmation of his mandate upon the country and individuals, beginning with the expansion of the rose of fortune in the garden of sovereignty, and the establishment of the rules of kingdom, the principles of suzerainty and the



foundation of an edifice of a praiseworthy empire was laid: the rules of government obtained stability by the world-diffusing lustre of the imperial firman: the report of the Sultan's accession to the throne was carried to distant places, to the plebeian and the noble, the obedient and the rebel alike. The armies from different quarters of the globe made haste to effect a conjunction with His Majesty. The age sang in praise of His Excellency.

### VERSE

His name near the oppressed,  
Is like tidings of victory.  
The movement of his benevolence round the  
world,  
Like the Moon round the earth day and night !  
The dust of his court at his noble orders,  
Shine like the crown of many a king.  
At places where his cavalcade encamp,  
Fortune serves him like a slave.

### THE EPILOGUE

By the bounteous favour of God,  
The morals of Fīroz Shāh delineated.  
The object in narrating the qualities of the  
Emperor,  
That thou derivest skill and fulfilleth thy  
desires.  
It's the book, by which people is benefited;  
From it they receive advice and with its help  
they are freed from ruin,  
From it they learn all about etiquette, qualities,  
commentaries and wisdom,







Pomp of the Amirs and ease of the soldiers.  
It's a discourse full of praise on virtues,  
A narrative salutary, freed from wanton  
pastimes,  
Decorated from the dates of the reign of His  
Majesty.  
From whom religion gained strength, and in-  
fidels ruined.  
Read this work, to the imperatives and nega-  
tives  
Pay heed, if thou art vigilant !  
On date seven and two and seven hundred,  
The book completed by Grace of God.  
My special prayer to thee, O ! men curious!  
Thou be possessed of goodness, if thou art a  
man on the way;  
Related to the Prophet, as the rule lays down,  
Keep thee away from blemish and sin.  
Look not at my faults, in my words of ex-  
pressions,  
Though I be a sinner and negligent.  
My prayer to God that this Emperor of the  
world,  
May seize the world from the moon to the  
fish !  
May God preserve him by his assistance and  
favour !  
May He confer on him universal sway and give  
him His own protection !  
May he be remembered so long the world  
continues,



May he be associated with the perpetuity of the  
universe !

The transcription of the book was completed on  
Saturday, Rabi-us-Sanee 1002 H.

—(Dec. 1593—Jan. 1594).





## Reviews and Notices of Books

### ICONS, MŪRA-DEVAS AND YAKṢAS

*The Transformation of Nature in Art.* By Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 1-245.

*Rājadharmakaustubhaḥ* of Anantadeva. Edited by the Late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛti-tīrtha. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume No. LXXII, 1935. 9½" × 6". Pp. 1-504.

In giving valuable information regarding religious and historical art in India, these two books are complementary. Anantadeva gives details, Coomaraswamy investigates their genesis. The *Rājadharmakaustubha* states the realised facts, Coomaraswamy traces them to anterior intimate tendencies.

The books are useful and timely specially in view of the wealth of artistic specimens unearthed within the last few years. These finds have shown how little we really knew about their origin and growth. Thus the pride of place in those two books is naturally given to the images : Anantadeva, pp. 35-101; Coomaraswamy, Chap. VII, *The Origin and Use of Images in India*, pp. 153-169. So far our information on this topic has been disappointingly indefinite and inadequate.



In the J. R. A. S., 1915, (pp. 413-415), Spooner drew attention to the connection between the Mauryas and Icons, and pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of the explanation generally offered on Patañjali's comment *Mauryair hiranyārthibhir arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ*\*\* on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99—*Jīvikārthe cāpanye*.

In *Bhāratīya Anuśīlana*,<sup>1</sup> 1935, (pp. 59-66), Keith sums up the differences in matters of religion between the Aryans and the Indus Valley civilisation as follows—"The *R̥gvedic* religion is certainly aniconic in principle; the fact that fetishes might exist does not destroy this fundamental feature of the organised cult. On the other hand iconism seems to permeate the Indus valley civilisation, proving a very different outlook."

Between 1915 and 1935, new sources have come to light, and new light has come from old sources. It may be profitable to review the whole position of iconography in India with special reference to the following points :—

- (i) Were the *R̥gvedic* Āryas devoted to icons?
- (ii) To whom did the icons referred to belong?
- (iii) Relation in time and space between Mūradeva, Yakṣas, Mauryas and Mūrtis?

(i) Keith is probably right about *R̥gvedic* aniconism. An image, idol or icon may possibly be meant in *R̥V.* 4, 24, where the poet asks, 'Who will buy this my Indra for ten cows? When he has slain

<sup>1</sup> Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha Commemoration Volume. Hindī-Sāhitya-Sammelan, Prayāg, 1990.



his foes he may give him back to me.’<sup>1</sup> But in most cases, the material objects, are obviously symbols. Bollensen’s reference to idols of Agni in ṚV. I, 145 4.5, is inconclusive. But that images were not unknown to the Ṛgveda is clear. As Bollensen says<sup>2</sup>—“From the common appellation of the gods as *dive naras*, ‘men of the sky’, or simply *naras* ‘men,’ and from the epithet *nr̥peśas*, ‘having the form of men,’ ṚV. III, 4, 5, one may conclude that representations in human form was also done. The question is: by whom? Later additions to the Brāhmaṇas, e.g., the Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇa, the last of the six chapters of the Saḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa a supplement to the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, and the Sūtras refer to idols, but by that time the assimilation of diverse viewpoints in a synthetic outlook had admittedly reached an advanced stage. Books like Gopinath Rao’s *Elements of Hindu Iconography* draw upon the extant Purāṇas which in their present form presume this synthesis.<sup>3</sup> The various sources are practically undistinguishable in time and locality—but are utilised *ad hoc* as in *Rājadharmakaustubha*<sup>4</sup> of Anantadeva (end of the 17th century). This failure to distinguish the initial sources has introduced an element of inconsistency between the subjective and objective evidence, a lack of entente between literature and archaeology in the earliest period. The Ṛgvedic Aryas could not pos-

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Bollensen, ZDMG. 47, 586 ff.

<sup>3</sup> cf. also Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, for a similar treatment from eclectic Tantra descriptions.

<sup>4</sup> Gaekwad’s Oriental Series. Vol. LXXII. 1935, pp. 17-101. Temples and Icons.



sibly avoid referring to many things they did not approve of but found in vogue among their contemporaries and co-inhabitants of India.<sup>1</sup> Icons were among these. Yāska, Pāṇini and Patañjali do not even support Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *Tīrtha* as a shrine, but explain it simply as a ford.

(ii) Who then used these icons?

The story of icons in India is linked with *Yoga* and *Dharaṇī*.

In his *Yogasūtras*, Patañjali defines *dharaṇa* as "the process of fixing the mind on some object well-defined in space." The Buddhist *dharaṇīs* are based on pre-Buddhistic Tantras founded on Yoga. It is significant that in his references to Mauryan images, Patañjali mentions the images of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Skanda and Viśākha. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, VI. 3, 1—"Śiva and others". What is the historical significance of this peculiar juxtaposition of ideas in Patañjali? Is it a pure coincidence to connect Śiva, image and Mauryas?

Mahenjo-Daro<sup>2</sup> has shown that Yoga, Śiva and icons go back to the 4th millennium B. C. in India.

Scholars, however, are not agreed to whom this civilisation belonged. It is time to revise this negative attitude. It is admitted that the Vedic Āryas found at least two other peoples—one sufficiently civilised but not their kith and kin,—"*Pūrum mṛḍhravācam*, described as Asuras in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa; the other

<sup>1</sup> cf. *śiśnadevāḥ*, RV, 7, 25; 10, 99. "phallic worship which was known in the earliest Vedic period." Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.* p. 155. This, however, is baetylic as opposed to iconic proper.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *Mahenjo-Daro*, Vol. I, pp. vii, 52-59.



uncivilised,—stigmatized as *dāsa*. But what were their names? Surely they could not have designated themselves as *anāryas*, in view of the fact that they must have proceeded the Aryas and must have had names of their own. In my *Asura India*, I suggested the two terms *Asura* and *Niṣāda*. Oppert<sup>1</sup> has called the latter (the autochthonous people) the Bharatas, the Pañca-Janāḥ. There is a fourth term in the Ṛgveda—Mūradeva. The icons of *mahāyogī* Śiva and of animals, specially the bull Nandivardhana, and of birds, specially the peacock, might belong to these Mūra-devas—worshippers of *mūras* or icons.

(iii) Who were those Mūra-devas?

*Vigrīvāso Mūradevā rdantu*, ṚV. 7, 104, 24.

*A jihvayā Mūradevān rabhasva*, ṚV. 10, 87, 2, 14.

(*gewisser Unholde*—Böhtlingk und Roth<sup>2</sup>.)

As in the case of the term *Ārya*, *Mūradeva* may be a general designation, covering ethnic entities that have persisted through the ages, connoting specific groups though hardly ever denoting the same group or individuals at two different epochs, the similarity of name notwithstanding. This aspect of the generic and specific value of names has not been adequately appreciated in recent discussions. A few instances may be cited.

In *Indian Culture*, (October 1935) Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 189 ff. Sten Konow replies to Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini II, iv, 10, regarding the date of the Śakas. Bhandarkar holds

<sup>1</sup> Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of India*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 1868, Part V, p. 851.



that the Śakas were in India in the 2nd century B. C. Konow quotes Ts'ien Han-shu and reiterates his opinion that the Śakas entered India after Patañjali, in the first century B. C. But neither seems to realise that different groups may be meant. As a matter of fact, Śakas are mentioned in the Purāṇas.<sup>1</sup> If the Purāṇas are suspect, they are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Sabhā, 78, 99; Bhī. 9, 45.

In the J. R. A. S., 1915, Spooner assumed that Patañjali was referring to the royal Mauryas when he was describing the habit of the Mauryas selling their images. There is not a trace of evidence to this effect. The word *Maurya* is formed by adding *śyañ* to *Mūra*, Mahābhāṣya, VIII. 2, 1. They were a tribe of long standing. The Mahāvamsa Tīkā (pp. 119-121) says that some Sakiyas being oppressed by King Viḍudabha fled to the Himalayas where they built Moriyanagara. Chandagutta might have belonged to the Moriya clan settled at Pippalivana.

In his *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 18, 19, 24, Jayaswal<sup>2</sup> attempts to equate Buddhapakṣa and Gambhīra of the Yakṣa dynasty with Kadphises I and II. Coomaraswamy in his *Yakṣas*, Part II, Washington, D. C. 1930, has pointed out the manifold ramifications of the Yakṣas from pre-Vedic days. He has adduced literary and archaeological evidence regarding the general character of the Yakṣa type. There were Yakṣas long before Gautama Buddha, and their descendants continued to hold sway long after the Śuṅgas. In *Le*

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 206-7, 256, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 1934, pp. 18-9.



*Catalogue Géographique Des Yakṣa Dans La Mahāmāyūrī*, 1915, Sylvain Lévi<sup>1</sup> has traced the Yakṣa belt and the kingdom of the *Yue-tche*, and the country of Varṇu noted in Pāṇini. A comparison of *Mañjuśrī*, Coomaraswamy's *Yakṣas* and Lévi's *Mahāmāyūrī* is instructive. The following premises emerge.

- (a) The geographical distribution of Yakṣa history and Yakṣa sculptures agree.
- (b) Special sites of Yakṣa cover the Indus Valley, the North-West and the Himalayan regions spreading from the west to the east. (i) Thus Varṇu<sup>2</sup> (30, 4. *Mahāmāyūrī*) is mentioned by Pāṇini, 4, 2, 103 along with Suvastu, Sindhu and Gandhāra. (ii) Nandivardhana (35, 3) associated with Vaiśālī, Puṣkalāvati and Takṣaśilā (B. E. F. E. O., 1905, p. 230).
- (c) Jaya .....  
p. 19; *Mañjuśrī*, G. 621 should be compared with *Mahāmāyūrī*, 101 *Kumbhīro yakṣo Rājagṛhe vipule'smin niveśikah*.<sup>3</sup>
- (d) Intimate association of Yakṣas with *Mayūra* in literature, and of the Mauryas with *Mayūra* in archaeology (J. R. A. S. 1935, p. 413); cf. also Mahenjo-Daro, vol. I, p. 349—  
“We have a bird with a very long, broad tail, which may possibly be a peacock.”
- (e) The similarity in technique between Yakṣa and Maurya sculptures has been pointed out

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Fevrier 1915, pp. 55-6.

<sup>2</sup> Przyluski, *Journ. As.*, 1914. II, 513.

<sup>3</sup> Lévi, *Journ. As.*, *op. cit.* 1935, p. 41.



by Bachhofer in his *Indian Sculptures* under the Śaśunāka statues in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and the Didarganj image in the Patna Museum.

- (f) The name of Nandi, the bull in place names, and its representations in icons and plaques.

I will merely indicate the direction of the conclusion, leaving it to shape gradually with the progress of further research. May it not be suggested tentatively that *mūrti* is a derivative from *Mūra*, worshipped by the earliest pre-Vedic people the Mūradevas, to whom may be affiliated the Yakṣas and the Mauryas?

Besides the manufacture and installation of images and shrines, the *Rājadharmakaustubha* describes various other social, political, executive and judicial functions of the king. The *pratyaḍhidevatāsthānam* (pp. 280-292) may be read profitably along with Chap. V (Parokṣa, pp. 121-152) of Coomaraswamy.

The get-up of both the books is excellent. The editor of the *Rājadharmakaustubha* is a legist, and as such has missed a number of significant details which an artist and historian would have noted.

Both Coomaraswamy and the Oriental Institute of Baroda have done useful work in collecting and interpreting systematised material which would help in reconstructing Indian history on sound lines.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI



*Mauryan Public Finance.* By M. H. GOPAL, M.A., PH.D.  
(London) Assistant Professor of Economics,  
University of Mysore, George Allen & Unwin  
Ltd., London, 1935. 8½" × 5½", pp. 1-237.

The author seeks to interpret texts on his own responsibility (Preface) but he fails to inspire confidence about his competence. His poor knowledge of Sanskrit, and in spite of his claim of access to a long series of authorities ("Sources"; pp. 207-212) his ignorance of those authorities are apparent. There is no Sanskrit author as *Chandisvara* (p. 208) but he is *Chandeśvara*. His description of the *Rājanīti-Ratnākara* shows that he has not seen the book. Similarly his description of Jolly's Brihaspati (SBE) as being the translation of "*Brihaspati-Smṛiti*" published by the *Ānandāśrama Series*, Poona, proves that he is not aware of the fact made clear by Jolly himself that the translator collected fragments from *Nibandhas* (Digests). It is doubtful whether the author has seen any of the two works, either Jolly's or the alleged *Ānandāśrama* publication. Similarly he mentions Naug's "*Aitereya Brāhmaṇa*" (209). Here 'Naug' may be taken as a misprint for Haug, but that he has not seen the Sanskrit Text is proved by the spelling *Aitereya* which is also found throughout (p. 118). Cowell did not edit (*Divyāvadhbāna* but *Divyāvadāna*). It is a libel on Manu (VIII. 308) to say that he wrote "*bhāgabārīṇam*" (117). The "*Pratipadapañchikā*, by



Bhaṭṭaswāmi (sic., read *Bhaṭṭasvāmin*) has, according to Dr. Gopala, incorrect readings," (p. 207) but not a single one has been pointed in his book of 206 pages.

The author has failed to realize the scope of Public Finance.

Dr. Gopal introduces his book with the observations of a finance minister of modern India, James Wilson :— "Finance is not arithmetic; finance is a great policy."

At the last session of the Legislative Assembly, Sir James Grigg, the finance minister of to-day, pointed out that such high finance without arithmetic soon led the financier to an enforced cessation of further activity within four walls. A greater teacher than either Wilson or Grigg, Plato laid down in his *Laws*<sup>1</sup>, that a true statesman must begin his education with 'geometry' as his work will require him to be a realist, in the best sense of the word, and not a romantic or sentimentalist, much less the complacent tool of a policy. If the author had paid greater regard to the dry facts of Arithmetic, more attention to accuracy of details, the book would have been less useless to serious students of Mauryan finance.

Besides his misuse of Bhaṭṭasvāmin, the author collects and repeats discredited theories with less than

<sup>1</sup> *The Laws of Plato*, Book VII. Cf. "Such ignorance seemed to me more worthy of a stupid beast like the hog than of a human being, and I blushed not for myself alone, but for our whole Hellenic world." Some of Dr. Gopal's interpretations of Sanskrit passages have reminded me of \**bibhety-alpa-śrutād Vedab mām-ayaṃ prahariṣyati*. A knowledge of Sanskrit is necessary to construe a Sanskrit passage, and a familiarity with the milieu is essential to interpret it.



their originators' acumen. The dissertation is helpful in indicating the root-cause of the failure of most modern research, viz., a lack of background. Specialization is not broad-based on original, allied and ancillary literature. Hence the most preposterous interpretations are often advanced with a naiveté that is the despair of those who know what precedes. Take a few samples.

In pp. 51-62, the author discusses the question of the ownership of land in India. Dr. Barnett 'has kindly supplied' Dr. Gopal with an English translation of *Strabo*, xv, 1, 40: "they work it for hire, at the rate of fourth (part) of the produce." (p. 53) Armed with this authority, Dr. Gopal considers the view of Jayaswal based on *Manu*, viii, 39, and Bhaṭṭasvāmī—*Rājā bhūmeḥ* etc., as 'incorrect'. (p. 62) Apart from qualified state-landlordism advocated by Thomas, Macdonell and Smith, Dr. Gopal betrays the besetting sin of researchers of his type by his statement—"the difference between the two interpretations of the *śloka* is \*\*\* whether in the fourth quarter the word is *sāmyam* or *svāmyam*." (p. 57) Dr. Gopal does not realise that a fundamental political, social and economic problem like this has to be examined in the light of the whole trend of Hindu jurisprudence, the *Mīmāṃsā*, and not to be disposed of on the strength of an uncertain word in an obscure ms. of unknown date. Jayaswal's opinion is based on the *Mīmāṃsā*. The *Arthaśāstra* assumes acquaintance with the *Mīmāṃsā*. So does Bhaṭṭasvāmī. Dr. Gopal exhibits Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out. The view he represents may be compared to Hotman's



interpretation of the right *hereditates capiendi* mentioned in Cicero's orations.<sup>1</sup> Cicero refers the right to the capability of being appointed heir in a testament: Hotman refers it to the right of entering upon the inheritance. This entrance, he says, was a solemn act, to wit, a *cessio in jure*. Now since, as he himself adds, it was requisite to every *cessio in jure* that there should not only be a person to acquire the thing ceded, but also a person to cede it, one must assume that the deceased got up out of his grave in order to assist at the performance of the ceremony. This is incomprehensible. Jolly quotes Manu, viii, 39—"The king is the owner of the soil." One must assume then that the king must always have been there to assist at the conferring of lands. What becomes of those aspects of Hindu polity that recognise no crown? What becomes of Manu, ix, 44—"The land belongs to him who cleared it." What becomes of the age old custom still obtaining among the Oraons and Mundas of Chotanagpore to clear jungles and call the lands thus reclaimed their own? Even the bearing of the problem is beyond the competence of Dr. Gopal.

In pp. 15, 102, the author refers to the tax on prostitutes and professes to note a remarkable parallel in Athens. He quotes Boeckh—"According to a passage of Suidas and Zonaras, the *agaronomi* designated the price which each prostitute should take. "Dr. Gopal's supposed parallelism is due to a lack of perspective, a superficial piecing together of undigested opinions. On this topic, the viewpoint of

<sup>1</sup> *On the Jus Latti*. See Niebuhr, Roman Hist. Vol. I, p. 566.



India essentially differs from that of Athens. Plato wrote his *Laws* about 350 B.C., Kautilya his *Arthaśāstra* about 320 B.C. By Plato and all serious Greek statesmen, the physical conjunction itself was looked on wholly unsentimentally as a merely animal function in which a man temporarily abdicates his personal dignity and becomes grossly ridiculous, though in practice, in view of the insistence of the appetite, such self-forgetting received an easy indulgence.<sup>1</sup> The attitude of Rabelais towards such things is more in keeping with Hellenic feeling than the demand Kautilya<sup>2</sup> makes for continence in his—*Kṛtsnam hi śāstram-idam-indriyajajāḥ*. The political and economic exploitation of prostitutes in the *Arthaśāstra* is adjusted to this socio-religious background in the form of a department by itself.

In p. 190, discussing expenditure on the military, justice and police, the author says, "Even in British India, where there is little likelihood of internal disturbance and not much chance of external trouble, a large army is maintained." The single word 'even' shows how inadequately equipped the author is for his task. The writer has no conception of the influence of military preparedness on sound finance. He ignores the Hindu ideology of *Danda-nīti* in the scheme of practical politics and economics. Behind both British and Mauryan finance lives the spirit of ancient India's *Mayūra-dharma*. Dr. Gopal should study Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* and Schackel's *Armament and*

<sup>1</sup> E. R. Bevan, *Christianity*, (Home University Library), p. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kautilya, *Arthaśāstra*, section III.



*Finance in Germany* (1935).

Thus both from its manner and matter, Dr. Gopal's *Mauryan Finance* is the work of an amateur who contributes nothing new or useful to an already abundant literature on the subject.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI





## REVIEW

*By Dr. J. Misra, Ph.D.*

*Dholā-Mārūr-ā Dūbhā.* A mediaeval folk-song of Rajputānā in Rājasthānī dialect of Hindī. Edited by Messrs. Rām Singh, M.A., Viśārada, Sūrya Karaṇa Parīka, M.A., Viśārada, and Narottama Dāsa Svāmī, M.A., Viśārada; and published by the Nagarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, Kāśī. Saṃvat 1991, pp. 213 + 664, price Rs. 4.

Not long ago the attention of Hindī scholars was drawn towards the folk-poems. Since then many admirable works and articles on the subject have been published from time to time and the present work is an addition to the previous publications.

The work has been divided into three sections; the Introduction, the Text and the Parīśiṣṭa.

In the first part of the Introduction the editors deal with the historical and literary aspect of the subject matter. They have come to the conclusion that the hero of the poem is a historical person of the 10th century A. C. The data advanced by them being insufficient, it is not free from risk to identify the hero of a popular ballad with the prince of the same name and of a particular period. Like the folk-songs of Sāraṅgā-Sadābrja, Rājā Bhārtharī etc., the song of Dholā and Mārūr is current in the villages of Bihār also. In the circumstance one feels tempted to presume that the story may belong to a period when



Magadha and Ujjayinī were more closely connected than they were in the 10th century A. C. or later. It would be interesting if a scholar would take the trouble of compiling the poem, as it is prevalent in Bihār.

In discussing the literary merit of the work the editors have entered into unnecessary details. It may serve the purpose of a text book for a beginner, but, for the average reader it becomes a tedious reading. The editors might have done well if they might not have attempted to take upon themselves the entire burden of thinking for the readers. This portion being unnecessarily long many commonplace things have been given in great detail<sup>1</sup> and the same thing has been repeated here and there<sup>2</sup>.

In the second part of the Introduction the editors, have dealt with the language of the work and they have used a peculiar expression "Bihārī Language," which is occasionally used by some Hindī philologists. We ourselves in Bihār do not understand the expression. To us Bihār is a Hindī province where dialects of Hindī exist in different parts of it.

The editors have laboured hard to prove that the language of Kavīr is Rājasthānī. But the students of Hindī will not find it easy to favour the theory. It is an instance of local patriotism, which is at the root of many misleading linguistic theories.

The grammar of Rājasthānī dialect added here is a useful contribution.

<sup>1</sup> Description of love sentiment and its divisions and subdivisions etc.

<sup>2</sup> Use of riddles in folk-songs. See pp. 52 and 128.



The story of the poem is that Dholā or Sālha Kumāra was the son of Nala, the King of Naravara. Once there was a famine and Piṅgala, the King of Pūgala, with his daughter Māravaṇī (abbreviated into Mārū) and his queen went to the court of Nala. The queen liked the prince Dholā and the princess Māravaṇī was married to him. At that time the prince was three years old and the princess a year and a half. As the princess was a little child, she was brought back to Pūgala by her parents. In course of time prince Dholā grew up and was married to Mālavaṇī, the princess of Mālva, and Māravaṇī, being at a great distance, was almost forgotten. In order to keep her position safe, Mālavaṇī appointed men, so that, nobody might approach the palace with the news of Māravaṇī.

One day young Māravaṇī saw the prince in dream and his separation made her restless. Her parents sent messengers to the prince Dholā, but they were killed by the men of Mālavaṇī. One day a merchant came to Pūgala and related to the king all about Mālavaṇī, her men and the fate of his messengers. So it was decided to send some minstrels, disguised as beggars, to Pūgala. These minstrels escaped the notice of the men of Mālavaṇī and delivered the message to the prince. In spite of all the remonstrances of and obstacles put by Mālavaṇī, the prince went to Naravara, brought back Māravaṇī and lived happily with his two wives.

The text consists of 674 Dūhās,<sup>1</sup> translated into

<sup>1</sup> Dūhā is a metre of two lines and is very widely used in Rājputāna. It is just like the Hīndī Dohā.



modern High Hindī. The language of the poem is musical and sweet and the plot has been executed with graceful simplicity. Charming are the descriptions of the things with local interest in Rājputānā, such as, the seasons, birds, beasts—specially camels, mountains, lakes, flowers, shrubs etc. Human emotions have been dealt with in the simplest form and they enter the heart directly. The elements of Indian folk-song e.g. pi pi (= priya—beloved) note of the papīhā bird, message through traders and travellers are present as usual. The onrush of love, the chief sentiment of the poems is unchecked from beginning to end. Want of technical refinement gives it the appearance of a rustic poem, but the natural and unobstructed flow of human emotions makes it highly artistic. There is no doubt that the poem is a first class piece of ballad poetry.

The third section is *Pariśiṣṭa* and consists of different readings in 17 manuscripts, annotations on peculiar words and expressions, and a glossary. It has been prepared carefully and is very useful.

The work, as a whole, is a beautiful gem of Hindī Literature and the editors are to be congratulated for the pains they have taken.



## Notes of the Quarter

*Proceedings of an Ordinary Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on February 20, 1936.*

A meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the B. A. lecture theatre of Patna College at 6-30 p. m. on February 20, 1936. Dr. Stella Kramrisch delivered a much appreciated lecture on "Some exhibits of interest in the Patna Museum," and illustrated her address with specimens of terra-cottas and bronzes.

J. L. HILL

*Honorary General Secretary*

*February 25, 1936*





*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar  
and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, March  
15, 1936.*

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James  
(Vice-President in the chair)

Mr. G. E. Fawcus

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Shyam Bahadur

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh

Mr. J. L. Hill

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting held on December 15, 1935.
2. Passed the accounts for the months of December, 1935, and January and February, 1936.
3. Elected the following gentlemen members of the Society :—
  1. Mr. S. M. Moinul Haq, M.A., Principal, B. N. College, Patna.
  2. Mr. Jayantilal M. Baxi, Honorary Secretary, Watson Museum.
  3. Mr. Srinath Shah, Durga Kund, Benares.
4. Considered the request of the Editors of "The Dacca University Studies" that their journal should be placed on the Society's exchange list.



Resolved that the Editors be requested to submit another application in a year's time.

5. Read a letter dated January 8, 1936, from the General Secretary of the 10<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Linguistes.

Resolved that Dr. Sten Konow be requested to represent the Society at the Congress to be held in Copenhagen in August, 1936.

6. Read a letter dated December 17, 1935, from the Vice-Chancellor University of London.

Resolved that Sir Edward Gait and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham be requested to represent the Society at the 4th Anglo American Conference of Historians to be held in London in July, 1936.

7. Considered two applications of the Office Pandit.

Resolved that the Pandit be granted 3 months leave on average pay with effect from April 14, 1936; and that to be permitted to prefix Good Friday and the Easter holidays to this leave.

Resolved that the Pandit be permitted to withdraw Rs. 225 from his Provident fund for use in connexion with his daughter's marriage; and that this sum be repaid in 23 instalments (22 instalments of Rs. 10 a month and the 23rd instalment of Rs. 5).

8. Considered arrangements for the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on



March 25 at 6-30 p. m. in the University Library hall.

9. Passed the Agenda paper of the Annual General Meeting.

### AGENDA

1. The President, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., to declare the meeting open.
2. His Excellency, the President, to move that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of His late Majesty, the King-Emperor, George V, and tenders its loyal and respectful sympathy with His Majesty King Edward VIII, with Queen Mary and with the other members of the Royal Family.
3. His Excellency, the President, to move that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of Professor Sylvain Levi, an honorary member of the Society, and desires that its sympathy be conveyed to the members of the bereaved family.
4. The Vice-President to propose that the following gentlemen be elected honorary members of the Society.

Professor C. R. Lanman, LL.D.

The Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana.

Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I.

Dr. A. Coomaraswami, D.Sc.

5. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazal Ali to propose that the following members be elect-



ed office bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1936-37 :—

*President*—His Excellency Sir James David Sifton,  
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

*Vice-President*—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.  
James, M.A., I.C.S., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

*Secretary*—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A., (Oxon.)

*Joint Secretary*—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

*Treasurer*—Mr. Sham Bahadur.

*Librarian*—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

*Editorial Board*—Mr. K. P. Jayswal, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.  
James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

*Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members)*—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,  
M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazal Ali.

6. The Honorary Secretary to present the Annual Report.

7. The Honorary Treasurer to present the Annual Statement of Accounts.



8. The Vice-President to review the year's work of the Society.
9. The President to introduce Mr. P. C. Manuk.
10. A lecture by Mr. Manuk on "The fascination of Hieroglyphics."
11. The President to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer.
12. Mr. Jayaswal to propose a vote of thanks to the chair.
13. The President to declare the meeting closed.
14. Read a letter dated March 7 from Mr. L. K. Jha.

Resolved that Mr. Jha should be requested first to pay the arrears due to the Society, and that subsequently, if he so wishes, he can become a life member on payment of the necessary sum (Rs. 180).

15. Removed from the Society's membership register the names of the following members, who have not paid their arrears :—
  1. Mr. Paul Roland Carr, Long Island.
  2. Mr. Ram Kumar Chaube, Benares.
  3. Mr. G. K. Chaudhuri, Ballipur.
  4. Rai Sahib G. K. Despande, Poona.
  5. Raja Bahadur G. N. Harichandan, Tekkali.
  6. Mr. Rameswar Prasad Jaruhar, Patna.
  7. Mr. V. L. Khanna, Calcutta.
  8. Mr. R. Kimura, Japan.
  9. Mr. Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, Agra.
  10. Rai Sahib Pandit Balgobind Malaviya, Patna.



11. Sir F. D. Miller, London.
12. Mr. Sri Nivas Rao Pantulu Garu.
13. Mr. Krishnadeva Prasad, Langartoli,  
Patna.
14. Mr. S. Narasingh Rao, Madras.
15. Mr. E. H. L. Seppings, Rangoon.
16. Mr. Paramanad Shaw, Dinapore.

J. L. HILL

*March 16, 1936*

*Honorary General Secretary*





*Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the reading room of the University Library at 6-30 p. m. on March 25, 1936.*

1. The President, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., declared the meeting open.
2. His Excellency, the President, moved that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of His late Majesty, the King Emperor George V. The motion was carried, all present standing.
3. His Excellency, the President, moved that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of Professor Sylvain Lévi, an honorary member of the Society. The motion was carried, all standing.
4. The following gentlemen were elected honorary members of the Society on a motion of the Vice-President :  
Professor C. R. Lanman, LL.D.  
The Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana.  
Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I.  
Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.
5. The following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1936-37 on a motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali :



*President* .. His Excellency Sir James David  
Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

*Vice-President* The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.  
James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

*Secretary* .. Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A., (Oxon.).

*Joint Secretary* Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

*Treasurer* Mr. Sham Bahadur.

*Librarian* Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

*Editorial Board* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.  
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.  
James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.  
Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

*Members of the Council (in addition to the President,  
Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio  
members).*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A.,  
I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali.

6. The Honorary Secretary presented the Annual  
Report.

7. The Honorary Treasurer presented the An-  
nual Statement of Accounts.



8. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.
9. Mr. P. C. Manuk delivered a popular and interesting lecture on "The fascination of Hieroglyphics."
10. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.
11. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.
12. The President declared the meeting closed.

J. L. HILL

*April 17, 1936*

*Honorary General Secretary*





## *Annual Report for 1935-36*

### I—MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1935, was 152. This represents a decrease of five from the corresponding figure at the end of 1934, the Society losing six of its ordinary members by resignation, and the Journal three of its subscribers, while four new members were enrolled. With the 12 honorary and 13 life-members, the total membership of the Society stands at 177.

### II—MEETINGS

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 29th March, 1935, in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, Patna, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., I. C. S., President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by a most interesting lecture on the "Expansion of Buddhism in Afghanistan" delivered by Professor H. Heras, M. A.

Two ordinary meetings were held this year. One was held on September 19, 1935 at which Mr. O. C. Ganguly, Editor of "Rupam", gave an illustrated lecture on "Moghul Painting," and the other on February 20, 1936, at which Dr. Stella Kramrisch gave a



lecture on "Some exhibits of interest in the Patna Museum," and illustrated her lecture with specimens of bronzes, and with *terra-cottas* recently discovered in Patna.

Meetings of the Council were held on 4th August and 15th December, 1935, and on March 15, 1936.

### III—JOURNAL

During the period under review parts 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Volume XXI of the Society's Journal, containing 552 pages and three plates, have been published. The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1935.

The printing of Buchanan's "Accounts of the District of Bihar and of the City of Patna" is nearing completion.

The Archæological Department, Cochin State, and the Muslim University Journal, Aligarh, have been put on our Journal's exchange list.

### IV —LIBRARY

During the year 237 books (343 volumes), of which 25 were Sanskrit, 2 Pali, 9 Hindi, 3 Persian, and 1 each in Mundarica, Gujarati, and Santali, were added to the Library. Of this total 68 were presented, while 126 were obtained by exchange and 43 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1935, the Library contained 6984 volumes as compared with 6641 volumes at the end of the previous year. Khan Bahadur Syed Md. Ismail gave a donation of Rs. 50 last year, with which books on Islamic culture have been purchased.



Babu K. K. Datta of Patna College has been engaged in examining manuscripts of historical importance in the Record Room of the District Judge, Patna. 41 of these have already been received for storage in the Society's Library.

#### V—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The search for manuscripts proceeded under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri. The Mithila Pandit noticed 1143 manuscripts from April, 1935 to February, 1936.

Vol. III of the Catalogue of manuscripts on Jyotisha is in the press.

#### VI—ACCOUNTS

The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer and will be printed separately.

J. L. HILL

March 15, 1935

Honorary General Secretary



*Statement of Accounts from 1st April, 1935  
to 29th February, 1936*

A. The actuals for 1934-35 showed a closing balance of Rs. 2,054-5-11 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 4,372-7-9, the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 6,426-13-8 at the end of 1934-35.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 29th February, 1936 the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,916-15-1. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 4,491-11-6 which gives a total of Rs. 6,408-10-7.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realized up to the 29th February, 1936 amounted to Rs. 1,687-2-0, up to the 28th February, 1935 the realized amount was Rs. 1,123-8-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,300.

Our realization from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 484-4-0 up to the end of February, 1936. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 249-9-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 119-3-9 up to the 29th February, 1936.

S. BAHADUR

*Honorary Treasurer*

*March 15, 1936*



*Actuals up to February 29, 1936*

## INCOME

			Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
			Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscriptions	..	..	1,687	2	0	1,300	0	0
Sale of Journal	..	..	454	12	0	200	0	0
Miscellaneous (a)	..	..	53	7	0	..		
Postage Recovered	..	..	7	13	0	10	0	0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila								
Manuscripts	..	..	29	8	0	..		
Government grant	..	..	5,445	0	0	5,445	0	0
Library unspent Balance	..	..	..			234	4	1
Opening Balance—								
Hathwa Fund	..	..	2,323	4	9	2,365	4	9
Darbhangha Fund	..	..	2,293	13	0	2,341	13	0
Mayurbhanj Fund	..	..	861	11	1½	881	11	1½
General Balance	..	..	948	0	9½	948	0	9½
Interest on F. D.	..	..	119	3	9	..		
GRAND TOTAL			14,223	11	5	13,726	1	9

(a) This includes Rs. 18 refund from Telephone.

March 15, 1936

S. BAHADUR  
Honorary Treasurer



*Actuals up to February 29, 1936*

## EXPENDITURE

			Actuals			Revised Budget		
			Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	..	..	1,172	14	6	1,276	0	0
Mithila Pandit	..	..	1,424	4	2	1,546	0	0
Telephone	..	..	246	0	0	228	0	0
Printing Charges	..	..	2,623	14	6	2,825	0	0
Postage	..	..	331	2	0	260	0	0
Stationery	..	..	82	3	0	60	0	0
Library	..	..	414	11	11	584	4	1
Electrical Charges	..	..	73	0	0	90	0	0
Out of Hathwa Fund	..		1,240	4	3	2,365	4	9
Out of Darbhanga Fund	..		..			1,752	0	0
Out of Mayurbhanj Fund	..		..			881	11	1½
Miscellaneous	..	..	205	10	6	300	0	0
TOTAL			7,815	0	10	12,168	3	11½
CLOSING BALANCE			6,408	10	7	1,557	13	9½
GRAND TOTAL			14,223	11	5	13,726	1	9

Details of closing Balance on 29th February, 1936 :—

	C/A			F/D			Total		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Hathwa Fund	99	8	6	1,025	0	0	1,124	8	6
Darbhangha „	332	2	3	2,050	14	3	2,383	0	6
Mayurbhanj „	180	6	1½	698	5	3	878	11	4½
General Balance	1,304	14	2½	717	8	0	2,022	6	2½
TOTAL ..	1,916	15	1	4,491	11	6	6,408	10	7

S. BAHADUR

Honorary Treasurer

March 15, 1936



AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY  
*His Excellency the President in inviting Mr. P. C.  
Manuk, lecturer of the evening, said :*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Mr. Manuk really needs no introduction from me. He is one of the oldest members of the Society; he has served on its Council as well as on the Museum Committee and has addressed you on former occasions.

Mr. Manuk is well known to us as an authority on Indian painting, particularly of the Moghul and Rajput schools. His collection—the result of forty years work—is widely known, and it is due to his enthusiasm and knowledge that many pictures and manuscripts have been saved from destruction and have been made available to the public. Tonight, however, he is going to address us on the subject of Hieroglyphs—the picture characters of the more elaborate civilizations of the old world to which the development of writing, as we know it today, can be ascribed. He has chosen a subject in which he does not claim to be an expert, but in which he has long been interested as an amateur and he promises that his exposition will not be entirely above the heads of his audience, as it well might be. I have great pleasure in calling on Mr. Manuk to speak to you now on “The Fascination of Hieroglyphics.”



*At the close of the lecture His Excellency moved a  
vote of thanks to the lecturer :*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am sure that we have all enjoyed this evening's interesting and instructive lecture, and I ask you to record in the usual manner a vote of thanks to Mr. Manuk for the pleasure he has given us.





Moulds from Yaudheya Mint at Rohtak



[Enlarged Reverse.]



Drawing of letters.



# JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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VOL. XXII ]

1936

[ PART II

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## Leading Articles

### ON SOME HINDU COINS OF PRE-CHRISTIAN CENTURIES

[WITH PLATES II-IV]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

**Sunga**

1. *Discovery of a Yaudheya mint.  
Unread Yaudheya legend read.*

A unique discovery in Indian Numismatics is an ancient mint dug out at Rohtak by Dr. B. S a h n i, the Lucknow scientist who has been recently elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Professor S a h n i discovered in hundreds moulds of coins below 3 feet in a mound called Khokra kot.<sup>1</sup> The moulds are arranged on discs. They were, when to work with, fitted into piles in several layers (with obverse and

<sup>1</sup> It is a mound 20' to 30' high, on the outskirts of the city. See Sahni, *Current Science*, 1936, pp. 796—801.



reverse moulds), and were tied together in bunches; metal was poured into each bunch through a central hole. There are grooves on the discs for the escape of extra metal. I give an illustration of a disc from a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Sahni [Pl. II]. The type of coin produced from them is the one illustrated by Cunningham, C. A. I., pl. vi. fig. 2, and by Rapson, I. C. pl. iii, fig. 13. The legend has two parts, the upper and the lower. The lower part was not read before (Rapson, I. C., iii). From numerous pieces and their impressions (positive) shown to me by Dr. Sahni I read the lower portion as *Bahu-dhāñake*; a few moulds read also *Bahudhāñke*. The upper portion reads *Yaudheyāna*. A tracing of the letters has been prepared by Dr. Sahni which I am reproducing here. Sometimes the ñ takes a form resembling t. In the tracing the general form has been kept. The whole legend means: “Of the Yaudheyas: Bahudhānyaka.” It was therefore the mint of the Bahudhānyakas, who were a member of the Yaudheya Federation of republics. We had already guessed from other series of the Yaudheya coins that there were at least three members of the League. This supposition is now confirmed.

According to the Sabhāparvan of the Mahā-Bhārata, ch. 35<sup>1</sup> (verses 4-5), the “Rohitaka” State

<sup>1</sup> ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाढ्यं धनधान्यवत् ।

कार्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ॥४॥

तत्र युद्धं महच्चासीच्च-छूरैर्मत्तमयूरकैः ।

मरुभूमिं स कात्स्न्येन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥५॥—Kumb. ed.

[ In the Calcutta Edition, C. XXXII, *Bahudhānyaka* is lost ]



was divided into two provinces—*M a r u* and *B a h u d h ā n y a k a*; and it was a very wealthy state (*bahudhanam*). *Rohitaka* is undoubtedly the modern *Rohtak* and it must be taken to be the headquarters of the '*B a h u d h ā n y a k a s.*' '*Maru*' must have been the province of Rajputana.

*Bahudhānyaka* extended from at least *Rohtak* and included *Behat* in the district of *Saharanpur* where Capt. Cautley dug up a large number of coins of our *Bahudhānyaka* mint (Prinsep, ed. by Thomas, 1858, i, p. 73, p. 200, pl. xix. 5, 6, 9; p. 82, pl. iv, 11).

The *Bahudhānyaka* coins were of "*white bronze*" (Prinsep, i. p. 85), a mixture of tin and copper (p. 202), and were evidently more valuable than copper coins.

The same passage of the *MahāBhārata* notes that *Rohitaka* was dear to *Kārtikeya*, that is, *Kārtikeya* was the presiding deity of the people. This is confirmed by one series of the *Yaudheya* coins which has the figure of *Kārtikeya* on it and his name.

The huge territory extending from *Bhawalpur* and including *Hoshyarpur* to *Bijaygarh* (*Bharatpur* State, where their inscription was found), and reaching *Rohtak* and *Saharanpur* lay under the *Yaudheya* Federation composed of three states—the *Bahudhānyaka* and two others—in the pre-Christian centuries. It was very likely this large republic which was ready to oppose Alexander and from which his army turned back (*Hindu Polity*, i 67, 150-1). The actual government was vested in an aristocracy but their parliament consisted of five thousand members.



The obverse of the coin has a bull, probably the Śuṅga imperial sign. The reverse has an elephant, another Śuṅga symbol, a nandipada (Śuṅga), and the letter G ( ग ) probably denoting *Gaṇa*. In the Rohtak ruins a clay seal (baked) with a hole and bearing a mark of string, was found by Dr. Sahni. It is in regular Śuṅgan characters,<sup>1</sup> as opposed to the artificial script of the coin. The seal legend is in perfect Sanskrit. This seal is the first Sanskrit seal of the pre-Christ centuries yet found. It reads: *Bhadrāmītra*-(2nd line) *-sya, Dronīghāṭe*. '*Dronīghāṭa*' the Pass *Dronī* (*lit.* mountain valley), was probably a pass in the Siwaliks at or near (Dehrā) *Dūn*.

2. *Coin of Śirī, grandson of Bhāga*  
(Second Century B.C.)

Æ. Die-struck: 44.75 grns.; found at Ahichchatra—Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh. Pl. III. 1.

This is a new coin published here for the first time. The letters are clear and the coin is a neat piece. It reads—'*Bhāganattisa Śirīsa*.'

"[Coin] of Śirī, grandson of Bhāga."

They are well-executed characters of the second century B. C. The letters agree with the Pabhosā and Hathigumphā letters and the letters on *Sumitra*'s coin (J. B. O. R. S., XX. 7). The reverse has a bushy tree in railing.

The coin comes from Ahichhatra, and belongs to Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh of Benares.

This *Bhāga* is evidently the Śuṅga sovereign the *Bhāga-bhadra* of the Besnagar pillar inscription.

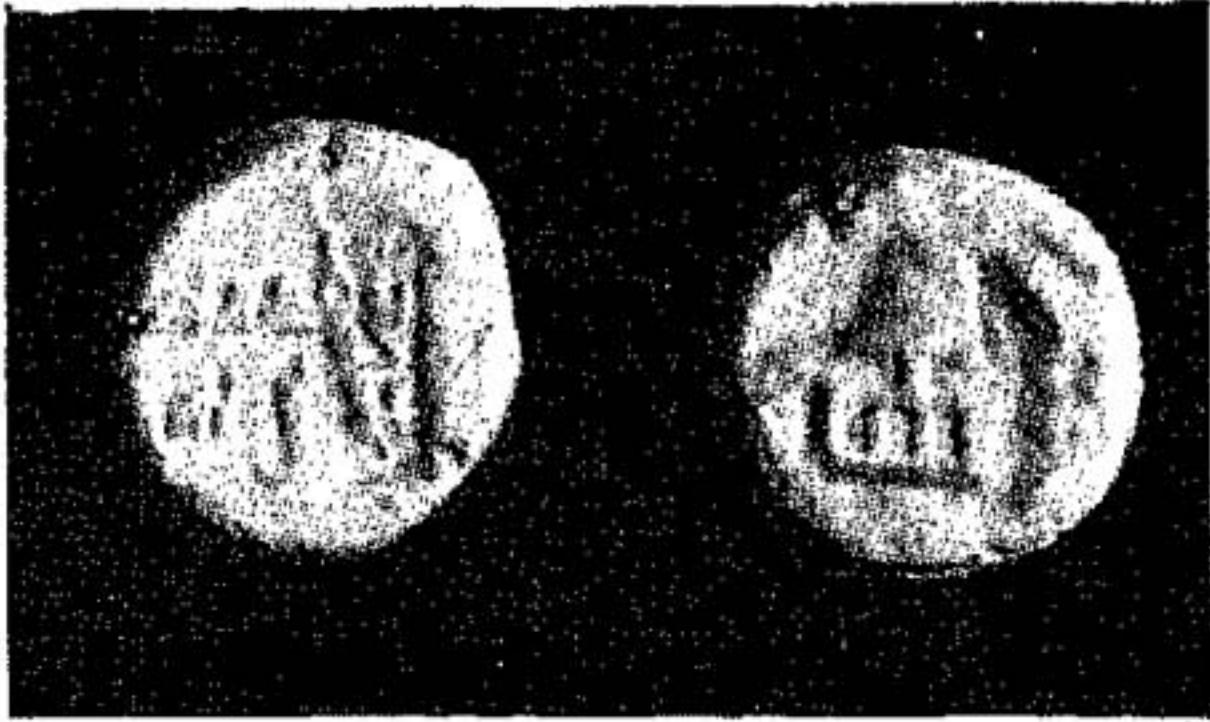
<sup>1</sup> Pl. IV. 18.



COPPER COINS


1

*Śiri,  
grandson  
of  
Bhūga*




2

*Goma*



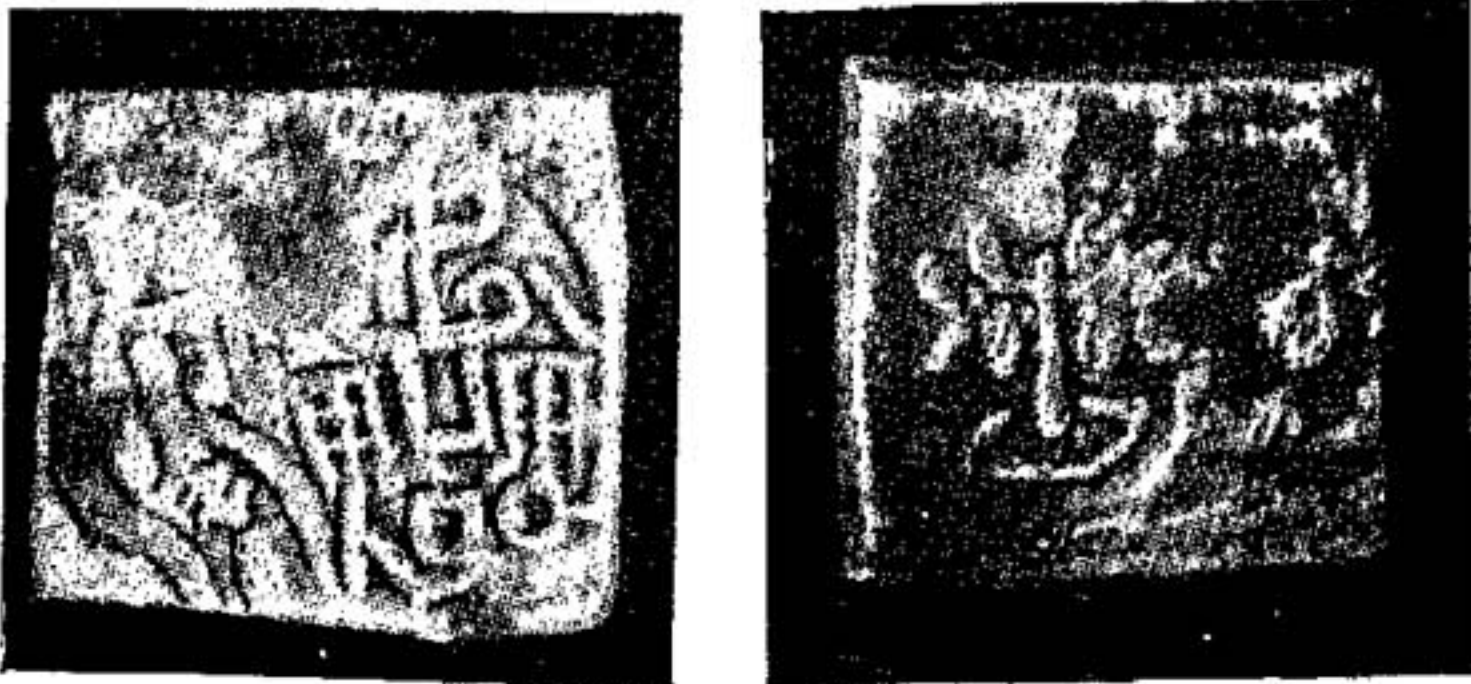
3

*Gomi*




4

*Tubathī Coin*




5

*Pāṭaliputra  
clay passport*




6

*Taxila Coin*




7

*M-Standard at Sanchi*




8

*Pāṭaliputra  
Coin*



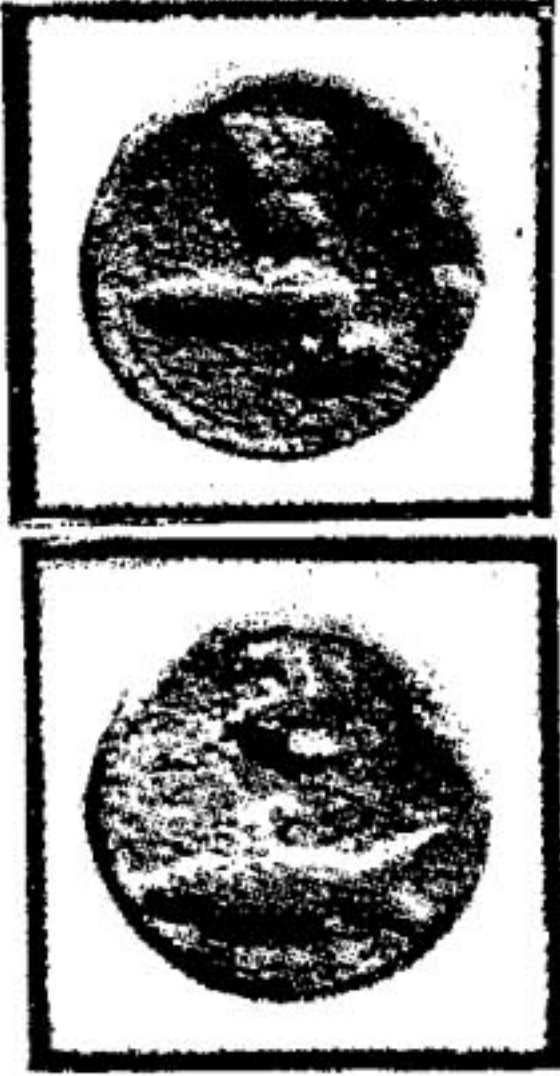
9

*Rājgīr Coin*



10

*Ayodhyā Coin*





Siri was probably a governor [of Ahichhatra?]. The coin being of a smaller denomination, had to be small, and the letters are reduced to bring in the full two line legend. The second line which has the name has bolder and spaced letters, a feature which we find for the first time.

### 3. *Gomin's Punch-marked Copper Coins* (c. 200 B. C.)

Wt. 51.3; 56.5; Deochandpur, Saidpur, Gazipur- Rai Krishna Das collection, Nāgarī-Parchāriṇī Sabhā Museum. U. P. [Pl. III. 2, 3.]

Two pieces of oblong copper coins have been brought to Rai Krishna Das of Benares from Saidpur, Ghazipur<sup>1</sup>. The smaller one is a little broken off at left and is heavier. They are unique amongst the punch-marked class. Symbols are very few, and there is a legend, of which all the letters are stamped with one die, while symbols are by different punches. *Ob.* has a crude bull facing a javelin and below is the legend *Gomasa* on the one and *Gom [i]* on the other. *Rev.* has a *nandipada* and, on the smaller piece, also another symbol, a flower. They were probably 12 raktika pieces. '*Gomi*' seems to have been a coin legend of Pushyamitra (JBORS., XX. 293). The letters belong to his period.

### 4. *Pushyami*

A new coin [Pl. IV. 17] of the type reproduced in J.B.O.R.S. XX. 291, pl. II. 1, has come to Mr. Srīnāth Shāh from Kosam. It gives a clearer reading. The

<sup>1</sup> They had been picked up from a field at Deochandpur, Tahsil Saidpur.



legend is *Pushyami*—

5. *Silver coin of Brahmanitra, Mathurā mint*

Patna Museum, 8726; 105.95

grns.

[Pl. IV. 16]

Upto this time we knew two issues of this ruler, both in copper. One belongs to Mathurā (CAI, pl. viii, No. 12; CIM. 194) and the other to Kosam (CIM, p. 205, xxiii. 5). The present coin is the first discovery of a silver coin of Brahmanitra, which is quite in line with the fact already published through this Journal, namely, that the Śuṅgas had a silver currency of the new type of signed coins.

Brahmanitra's coin was imitated by the Mathurā Satraps.

The present coin agrees with the copper issue. The female figure is elegant on our silver coin. She holds a jar in her right hand (raised), and faces probably a tree. The jar artistically serves a double purpose : it represents a jar in the hand of the lady, and it represents *ma* of the ligature *hma*. In the Kosam coin we have also the full ligature *hma* (ह्म)

Our coin (P M, No. 8726) weighs 105.95 grns. It was acquired by me from the collection of Dr. Hultzsch. The material is alloyed silver like that of other Śuṅga coins published in this Journal (XX. 6). The obverse symbols [to the r. of the female] are the cross-with-balls (small) and nandipada (?) below. The female is probably Yamunā; her hair is tied and the end flying. The back has a nandipada in the middle. Other symbols are indistinct. The legend reads *Brahmamitrāsa*. Dr. Hultzsch notes on the



envelope *rājasa* as being on the reverse, but I do not find these letters. The coin was uncleaned and Dr. Hultzsch mistook it to be of copper.

The same prince's name appears on the Bodh-Gayā railing.

### Pre-mauryan [?]

#### 6. *Punch-marked Coin of 'Tubat̥hi.'*

Wt. 119.95. Eran mint. Rai Krishna Das collection Nāgarī Prachārīnī Sabhā Museum.  
[Pl. III. 4.]

This coin came to Rai Krishna Das from Ujjain. It is of the type of the Eran coins. It has the same technique, the same fabric, and the same features, e.g. the same river with fish (CAI, xi); all the symbols are on a die and stamped together—characteristic of the Eran coins. The value of this coin lies in the fact that it has a legend in the oldest form of Brāhmī, reading *Tubat̥hi* or *Turbat̥hi*. Probably its Sanskrit equivalent is *Turvas̥h̥ti*. The coin seems to be older than the time of the Mauryas. The name, which is a place-name, appears to be connected with dynastic name *Turvaśa*.

The reverse has a tree on the ground marked with a square.

### Maurya

#### 7. *Balance-marked Coins from Rājgīr and Pāṭaliputra*

There are two small oblong copper coins at the Patna Museum brought from Rājgīr, picked up probably at the ancient fort of Rājgīr (the fort of A j ā t a ś a t r u) wherefrom the local Paṇḍās collect the Rājgīr coins after the annual rains.



They combine the characteristics of the stamped system and cast coinage. The pieces were first cast and then they were stamped with a seal-shape die. The result is a shapely regular and neat coin [Pl. III. 9].<sup>1</sup> It has an initial in the oldest Brāhmī, syllable *Ra*, or *R[ā]*, probably standing for 'Rājagriha', or an Aśokan monolith pillar, as on the coin of Taxila [C A I, II. 6]<sup>2</sup>. After the initial there is a scale with the Brāhmī *m* placed over the centre of the yard. The reverse is blank. The design of the scale with *m* may be compared with the one on the Ayodhyā coin in Cunningham [CAI, ix. 3] and Rapson, IC. [IV. 2]<sup>3</sup>; and contrasted with that on the Dojaka coin [IC., i. 2] where the centre is marked by a point only, and with the design found on the Śrāvastī lead coin (die-struck) brought by Rev. R. Sāṅkṛityāyana. [Pl. IV. 11].

The scales here and on other coins, I think, denote the P a u t a v a Department of Hindu Government. This Department was, according to the Artha Śāstra [c. 19] in charge of weights, which was definitely a State matter. King N a n d a had according to the *MahāBhāṣya*, fixed a uniform weight system, and the M a u r y a s also had the matter under government control. The symbol guarantees the right weight of the coin. We have the symbol on silver punch-marked coins of the Maurya times [J.B.O.R.S. 1919, 430, Pl. III. 32, 33, 34].

In this connection a passage of the Artha Śāstra should be noticed (अक्षेषु नान्दीपिनद्धं कारयेत् c. 19) which

<sup>1</sup> Patna Museum, nos. 1297, wt. 36.2 grns.

<sup>2</sup> The difficulty in taking it as a pillar is that it has no capital, the essential feature of a pillar of Aśoka.

<sup>3</sup> My plate here, IV. 10.



Coins of Śrāvastî

Lead

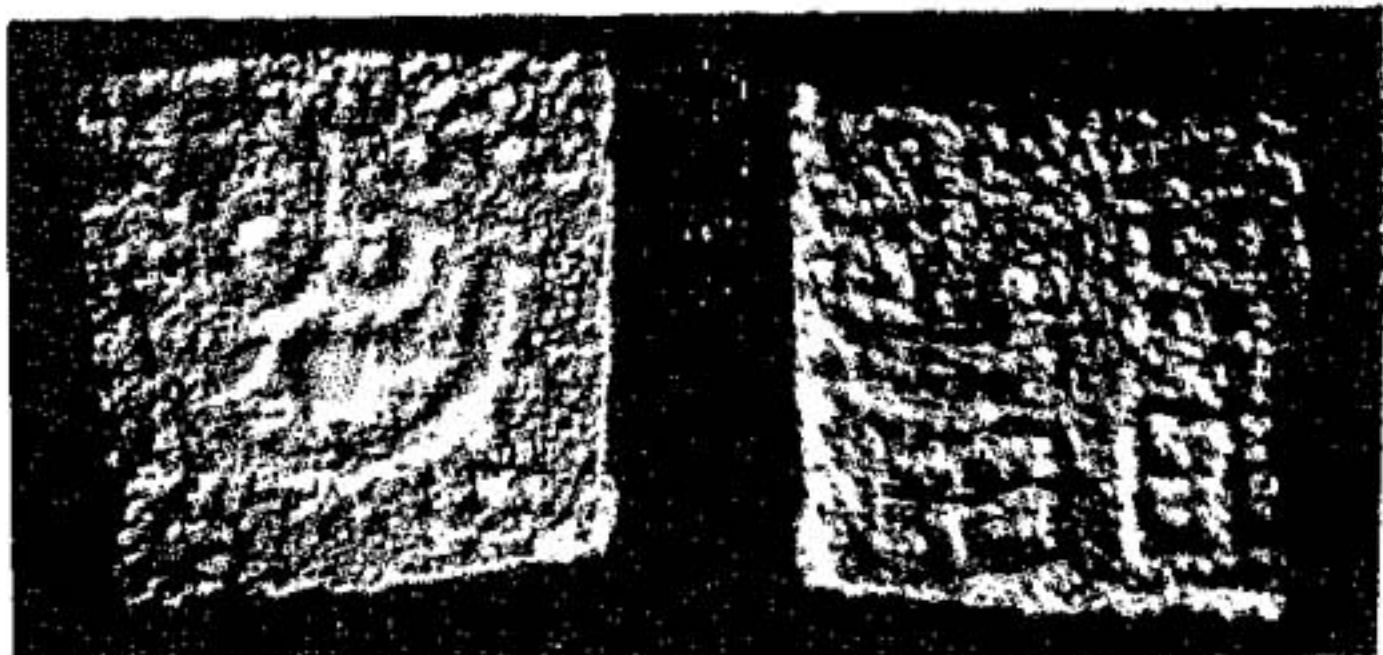
Copper



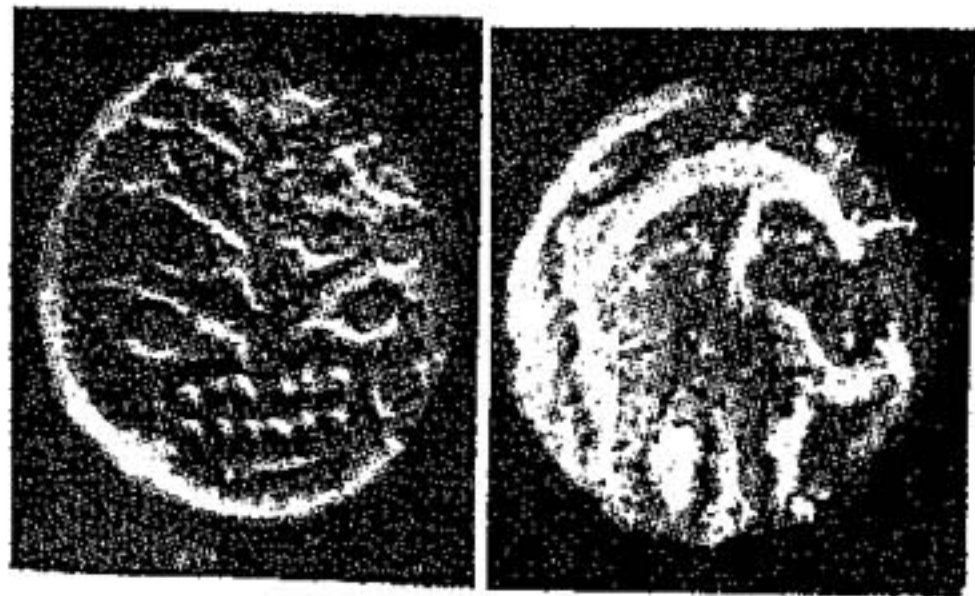
11



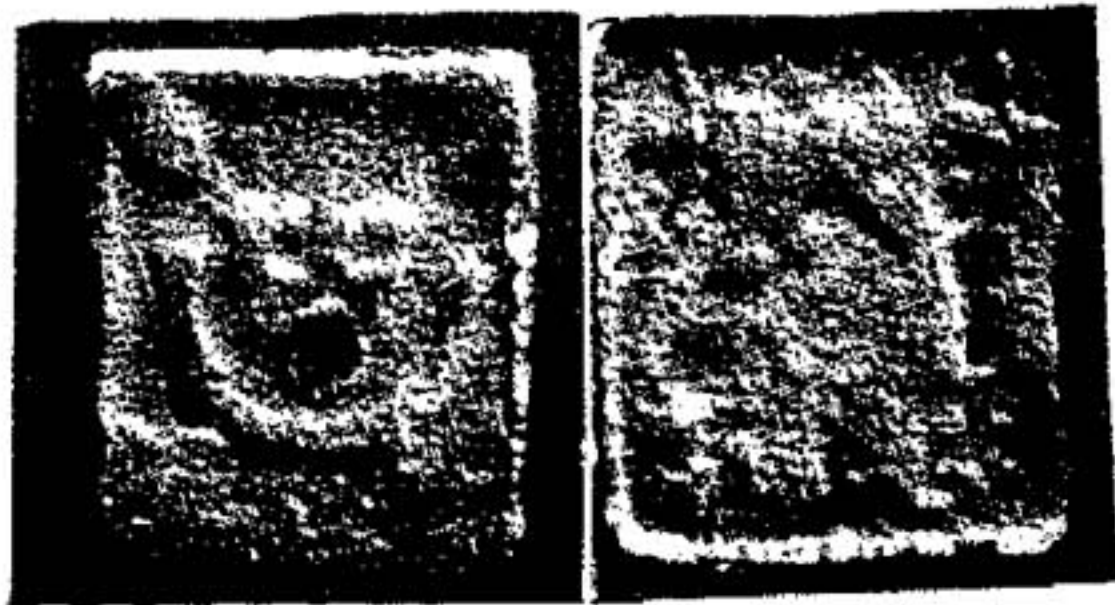
12



14



13



15



16

Silver Coin of  
Brahmamitra

Seal from Rohtak

Æ.



17

Pushyami[tra]



18

Bhadramitra  
at Dronīghāta



lays down that the yard be marked with *Nāndī*, which the commentator explains as *svastika*. The letter *m* here therefore does not signify *Nāndī*. The design of *m* surmounted on a standard is found at Sanchi where it is distinguished from the Nandipada standard in the same frieze (CHI, I, pl. xxiii. 63<sup>1</sup>.) The relic carried on the elephant there has behind it a *m*-standard<sup>2</sup>. The same *m* is found at Jaugad on a staff,<sup>3</sup> on a glass sealing [J.B.O.R.S. X. 189, pl. 4], on a clay sealing and on a coin-like piece of copper [plate III 5, 8] dug out from the Maurya level by Spooner at Pāṭaliputra (excavation).<sup>4</sup> It was evidently used in Maurya times as a royal mark, and it denoted either *M(agadha)* or *M(aurya)*. The clay sealing has no hole or mark of string, which proves that it was carried by hand and that it was a State token.

Probably most of these balance-marked pieces were used as tokens given at the gate by the Customs Department. It is provided in the Artha Sāstra that all merchants importing foreign goods were to be granted *mudrās* (seal-passports) to pass the goods at the barriers [AŚ. c. 21]. I think that some of these 'coins' are really such *mudrās*, otherwise the clay seal, which is an exact copy of the copper piece of Pāṭaliputra cannot be explained. The Rājgīr coins

<sup>1</sup> Nandipada-standard is in the upper row at right hand end, and *m*-standard just opposite.

<sup>2</sup> See the *m*-standard enlarged on my plate III. 7 here. See also the letter *m* on the Taxila coin, Pl. III. 6 [CIM, XX. 8].

<sup>3</sup> Hultzsch, *Aśoka*, 116, where it is clearly *mo*.

<sup>4</sup> Now at the Patna Museum nos. K.S.I. No. 21, 4909, wt. 15.66 grns.



are not worn, that is, they were not in circulation. The weight of the lead coin of Śrāvastī is also irregular (grns. 42·4). The silver punch-marked pieces (where the scale is only one of the several symbols) are certainly coins. To the passport class will belong the glass seals found at Pāṭaliputra and published by me in J.B.O.R.S. X. 189. The glass sealings which must have been turned out in numbers, could hardly have served any purpose other than as passports.

### 8. Sravasti mint

A number of coins collected by my venerable friend Mahā-Paṇḍita R ā h u l a S ā ṇ k ṛ i t y ā y a n a from the Ś r ā v a s t ī villages prove the existence of a Ś r ā v a s t ī mint in the Śuṅga Period and earlier.

We have a distinctive design on coins of copper. It is a decorated *Nandipada* (with three arms), so prominent on Śuṅga coins already published in this Journal. The Nandipada here stands inside a semi-circle. I reproduce here a cast copper coin (double-die struck) and a stamped coin of the class [Pl. IV. 14, 15]. Their weights are respectively 130·2. (PM, No. 11785) and 70·4 grns. (Patna Museum, No. 11786) The die-struck coin has on the obverse Nandipada-on-a-standard (placed on the top of a staff), standing inside a railing, and a cock (greatly effaced) facing it to the right. The cast coin has the same standard of Nandipada but to its left there is some other object on another railing. Both have Nandipada in a semicircle on the reverse.

Several coins of *Agnimitra*, in a material which looks like brass, with the so-called Pañchāla



symbols, also come in the collection. There is a similar small coin of the dynasty where the name is different but is not readable. All these appear to be local coins.

There are also three

*Lead Coins of Śrāvastī*

They are all stamped [Pl. IV, 11, 12, 13.]

One of them (no. 12) bears a legend in Śuṅga characters—‘*Śāvati*.’ Its weight is 178.5 grns. (PM, No. 11792). The reverse is blank. There is a balance coin, (no. 11) with one scale; the yard has a handle with three projections. Below the yard to the right there is a representation of probably weights, (cf. J.B.O.R.S. 1919, 430, 111, 32-34). Its weight is 42.4 grns. (PM, No. 11789) the reverse is blank. In the Maurya Period we have ४ (letter *M*) placed over the handle. The Śrāvastī coin is probably pre-Mauryan. The third coin (PM, No. 11790) weighs 50.4 grns. It is neatly struck on both sides. The obverse has either a *vaṭa* or *pīpal* tree in a railing, with the letter *m* at both its corners. The reverse has an elephant. This seems to be Mauryan. All these are local coins of Śrāvastī.



# NEW COINS OF N Ā G A-V Ā K Ā T A K A PERIOD

[WITH PLATE I]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

§1. Some new coins unknown and unpublished before are published below [Pl. 1]. They serve a second purpose, namely, of answering certain criticisms of SIR R. BURN.

## “Lanky Bull Type” Coins

§2. In JBORS., XIX. 71-72, in my *History of India*, 150-350 A. D., a coin unidentified before [V. Smith, C. I. M., 155, No. 4] was identified as a V ā k ā ṭ a k a coin. SIR RICHARD BURN has questioned this view in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* (“for the year 1933,” published in 1935, Leyden, pp. 10-11)<sup>1</sup>. In his opinion the coin belongs to “the 3rd century B. C.,” and not to about 348 A. D., as proposed by me. This means that one of us must be wide off the mark by 600 years! If the question had been raised by a man of lesser standing I would have treated it with silence. But a statement from SIR RICHARD on coins, be it *ex cathedra* (as in

<sup>1</sup> A most unsuitable place to raise a controversy. An Annual Bibliography is a Digest, not a Journal, and a Digest is not necessarily open to replies on defence by people attacked. I hope, Sir Richard and Dr. Vogel, in fairness to me, will give as prominent a publicity to this reply as they have done to the attack.



the present case), must deserve the attention of every numismatist. Hence this reply. I would propose that let

### New Coins Arbitrate

§3. The coin in dispute is known to numismatists by a popular name the "lanky bull type." Its chief feature is, to quote the words of V. Smith, the "*humped bull of very lank shape*,"<sup>1</sup> which is unmistakable and a positively distinctive device. A point of SIR RICHARD'S is that the lanky bull coin bears no inscription, his point probably is that other pieces which he has seen bear no inscription. I reproduce here another coin with the same bull and with a name-legend which is in characters of c. 300 A. D. I am enlarging the obverse to show the form of letters.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Coin of B h a v a-N ā g a*

Æ, cast; 87.5 grns.; Kosam.

Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh,

Benares. [Pl. I, No. 1]

§4. The coin belongs to the cabinet of Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh of Benares, a well-known collector. He acquired it from Kosam.

*Ob.*—lanky bull; a hole in the coin below the stomach of the bull (an original defect in casting); over the back a symbol formed by two serpents with raised heads facing a rod-like object standing in the middle; at bottom, a serpent [*nāga*]; the bull faces (right) the begin-

<sup>1</sup> CIM., 155.

<sup>2</sup> The photograph is direct from the coin, several times magnified. The reverse is actual size photographed from the coin direct.



ning of the legend, which is in box-headed letters, reading [*Śrī*] *Bhavanāgo*

*Rev.*—on top, figure for 30 (Kushan type); in the field the peculiar tree (six-branched) as on the lanky bull coins already known; a standard (left); to the right of the tree in railing—svastika and cross-with-balls.

The coin had been long in circulation; it has become smooth. The head of the first syllable *śrī* is worn off leaving only traces. The box on the heads of *Bh*, *v*, and *n* exists in outlines, and the syllable *go* has become faint; all the other letters still stand out in bold relief. The hanging line of *Bh* was cut thinner in the original mould.

§5. The letters are undoubted pre-Guptan and post-Kushan. The symbols (*nāga*) and system of dating (30th year on the back) is quite in line with the *Nāga* coinage.

§6. We know from *Vākāṭaka* inscriptions (cited in the *History*, 150-350 A. D.) that *Bhava Nāga* was the last *Bhāraśiva* (*Nāga*) king who was succeeded by *Pravarasena I* and *Rudrasena I*, *Rudrasena I* being *Bhava Naga's* daughter's son and heir.

§7. Now if we turn to the other coin I described as *Vākāṭakan*<sup>1</sup>, the main difference between that and the present coin lies in the fact that the place of the 'standard' of the *Bhāraśiva* coin is taken up by the 'wheel.' That wheel is definitely the *Vākāṭaka* royal symbol, on the authority of the *Nachna* inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> JBORS., 72 p. III; CIM., 155.



Śrī-Bhava-Nāga

Æ.



Śrī Bhava Nāga



[Rev., original size]

[ Enlarged ]

Æ.



Bhīma ( Nāga )



tion of the reign of Prithivīsheṇa Vākāṭaka (Fleet, *Gupta Inscription*, plate 33, B) and on the authority of the wheel inscribed on the Dureha boundary pillar with the expression “*of the Vākāṭakas*” (JBORS., XIX, plates IV-V). The wheel has a peculiar shape with eight spokes, and this identical wheel is to be found on the coin I called Vākāṭakan<sup>1</sup>. The other difference is that the symbol of the serpent (*nāga*), the rebus of the dynasty, disappears from the Vākāṭaka coin and the *nāga* design is removed from the back of the bull where a *nandipada* star (four nandipadas grouped round a common neck) is substituted. It was natural for the succeeding dynasty to remove the rebus of the late dynasty, and to substitute its main emblem the wheel (*chakra*), denoting the *chakra-vartin* position of the Imperial Vākāṭaka [*śamrāt* in their inscriptions]. The coin must belong to one of the two Imperial Vākāṭakas consisting of only two successions, Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I. Architectonically, numismatically, it is a direct successor of Bhavanāga's coin.

§8. SIR RICHARD'S verdict that the coin belongs to the 3rd century B. C., is totally dislodged by the coin of Bhavanāga, which is an imitation and which cannot be earlier than 300 A. D. on its lettering.

§9. The above conclusion regarding the age is further strengthened by another coin which has to be recognized from its technique as belonging to the same series, and which, on the evidence of its letters,

<sup>1</sup> JBORS., 72, p. III; CIM., 155.



precedes the coin of Bhavanāga. This also comes from Kosam and belongs to Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh.

*Coin of Bhīma Nāga*

Æ, cast, 73 grns. Find spot, Kosam, but Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh  
probably of some [Pl. I, 2]  
Malwa mint.

*Ob.*—In the field tusked elephant, on platform, mounted by man, walking to standard (l.); on r. cross-with-balls and a svastika (floral); legend reading: *Bhīmasa*; at bottom *nāga* rebus serpent.

*Rev.*—Tree in railing with two branches, dominated by the Malwa large cross-with-circles; on left margin a hill of six arches in three storeys surmounted by a *chhatra* (?); on r. margin figure 40, Kshatrapa type; a group of 4 nandipadas enclosed in an oblong; a triskeles. From the style of letters the coin belongs to the 3rd century A. D. and was evidently struck by the same *Bhīmanāga* as of the Narwar coin (Cunningham, C. M. I., pl. i. 15).

Evidently the mounted elephant was imitated from Kushan coins.

The coin which is in chain of the Nāga-Vākātaka coins is thus another piece displacing SIR RICHARD BURN'S theory.

*The Historical Value of the Coins of Nava*

§10. The dynasty of Nava is known to the Purāṇas. And if it is shown that coins struck with the name *Nava* are found with the letters of the period, it is unfair to ignore the identification and its historical consequence. Coming as the coin does, in fairly large numbers, from the territory which had



been directly under the Kushans, and bearing Kushan letters, and years, not of the Kushan era but of the king's (Nava's) own regnal years, it cannot but prove a political revolution denoting replacement of the Kushans by Nava in central Hindustan—the area of the coin. But Sir Richard would minimize this obvious conclusion by saying

“Mr. Jayaswal takes the word ‘Nava’ (Nākas or Nāgas) in the well-known passage describing the rulers of Champavatī and Mathurā as a name, instead of the number nine. He identifies him as the striker of a well-known series of coins found chiefly at Kosambī the inscription on which has been variously read as *Nevasa*, *Devasa* or as part of a name *navasa*.” (ABIA, 1933, p. 10).

§11. By saying this he makes the reading still a matter of doubt which is unfair to me. No one had read the name before me as *Nava*; the prior published readings were only ‘*Neva*’ and ‘*Deva*’ (V. Smith, C I M, 199). The reading was for the first time contended for in my *History*, 150-350 A. D. (JBORS., XIX), which led to the identification of the coin with a known dynasty. Sir Richard instead of giving me the credit of reading the name correctly says that others have read it as *navasa* but as part of a name. He gives no authority to enlighten us as to who anticipated this reading *navasa*. That the legend cannot be part of a name would be evident even to a non-expert enquirer who would care to look at the reproduction in V. Smith's Catalogue (C I M, p. 212 pl. XXIII. 15) or a number of originals in the



Indian Museum. The incuse produced by the stamp itself proves conclusively that the whole name is *Nava* and that the name begins with *N*. The letters are always designed to cover the entire field either by *Nava* or the possessive *Navasa*. It should be noted that it was never doubted by V. Smith or Prof. Rapson that there could be something before *N*. It is regrettable that an obviously definite fact should be made indefinite by loose statements.





## “NAVA NAGA IN EARLY INDIAN COINS”

In page 10 of A. B. I. A. for 1933, Vol. VIII published in 1935, Sir Richard Burn has commented on Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's reconstruction of the Nāga Coins.

The following points have been raised by Sir R. Burn :—

(1) Is the reading *Nava* (possessive *Navasa*) on Coins No. 16, Pl. I, Vol. XIX, Parts I & II, J. B. & O. R. S. 1933 correct?

(2) Can it be taken as '*Navasa*' with the letter *N* as the initial in the incuse, or there is the possibility of another letter before it?

(3) Is it a *Nāga* coin? If so, of which period and place?

If the illustration referred to above reproduced in the Journal from the original plate XXIII, Coin No. 16, of the Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins by V. Smith, Vol. I, be correct (a fact not challenged) then it would be clearly seen that the letter *N* has an incuse to the left of it without any extra place in the incuse for any other letter in the legend before it. This is also found in other coins of *N a v a*. It is undoubtedly the initial letter of the legend and it is equally clear that it could be nothing else than the word *Navasa*, *Nava* in the genitive case, which is the usual form on the Coins of that period.

It should be noted as well that it is in the



singular form and cannot therefore stand for the Series of Kings of this dynasty. In other words, it is clearly the name of the individual king and cannot be the mere title of the family of *Nāgas*, so well known to the *Purāṇas*.

It seems to be the only possible conclusion to read it as the coin of the first member of a new starting dynasty. It certainly cannot be taken to refer to the number nine, the form being in the singular.

(3) From the script it would be clear that both the letters are of the 1st century A. D., like the letters of inscriptions of Mathurā illustrated on Table III of Bühler's chart under Column I.

It would be natural from the caligraphic point of view to surmise that the Coin belongs to the Mathurā side. Sir Richard is wrong to say that it is confined to Kosam. I have myself found a silver coin of this king at Mathurā. There also the incuse shows that it is impossible to take the legend *Navasa* as part of any other name preceding: The incuse is definite (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XX. 6. pt. 4; 306).

*Durgaprasad*



## RĀJGĪR (MANIĀR MATH) STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION

[WITH PLATE V]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

In the excavation of 1932-33 at the Maniār Math site of Rājgīr a small stone (Register no. 11) was found by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Superintendent Archæological Survey, Central Circle. It is part of a concave frieze, the back of which shows a pilaster. The material is the Mathurā spotted red sand-stone. The fragment measures  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " (length) 6" (breadth). It evidently decorated a round temple. The portion represents a figure seated on a hill; one leg is drawn in and the other hangs down, the outlines of which are visible in the impression reproduced here. Down below at a fair distance there is the head of a human figure looking upwards<sup>1</sup>. The upper part of the seated figure, and the body of the lower figure are broken off. The fragment has a two line inscription, which is complete. The frieze is described by a label-inscription.

Mr. Chandra casually mentioned the piece to me. The lower line of the inscription, as read by others, gave no meaning. After examining a photograph of the inscription I proceeded to Nalanda where the find was deposited. It confirmed my

<sup>1</sup> This is part of another frieze.



reading, disclosing the name of King Śreṇika, i.e. Bimbisāra, contemporary of the Buddha, and King of Magadha [with its capital at Rājagṛha, Rājgīr]. Mr. Chandra kindly had an impression taken for me which I reproduce here [Pl. V]. It reads :

(1st line) *Parvato Vipula* [ पर्वतो विपुल ]

(2nd line) *Rājā Śreṇika* [ राजा श्रेणिक ]

that is, the hill carved above is Vipula one of the five hills of Rājgīr; and the king carved on it is Śreṇika. The exact rendering is

“The hill———(is) Vipula

“The king———(is) Śreṇika”

The characters are early Kushan (1st century A. D.). Probably it was a Jaina sculpture, as Jaina tradition connects the king Śreṇika with the hill Vipula. The Buddhist form of the royal name is ‘Seniya Bimbisāra;’ while the Jaina form is ‘Śreṇika.’

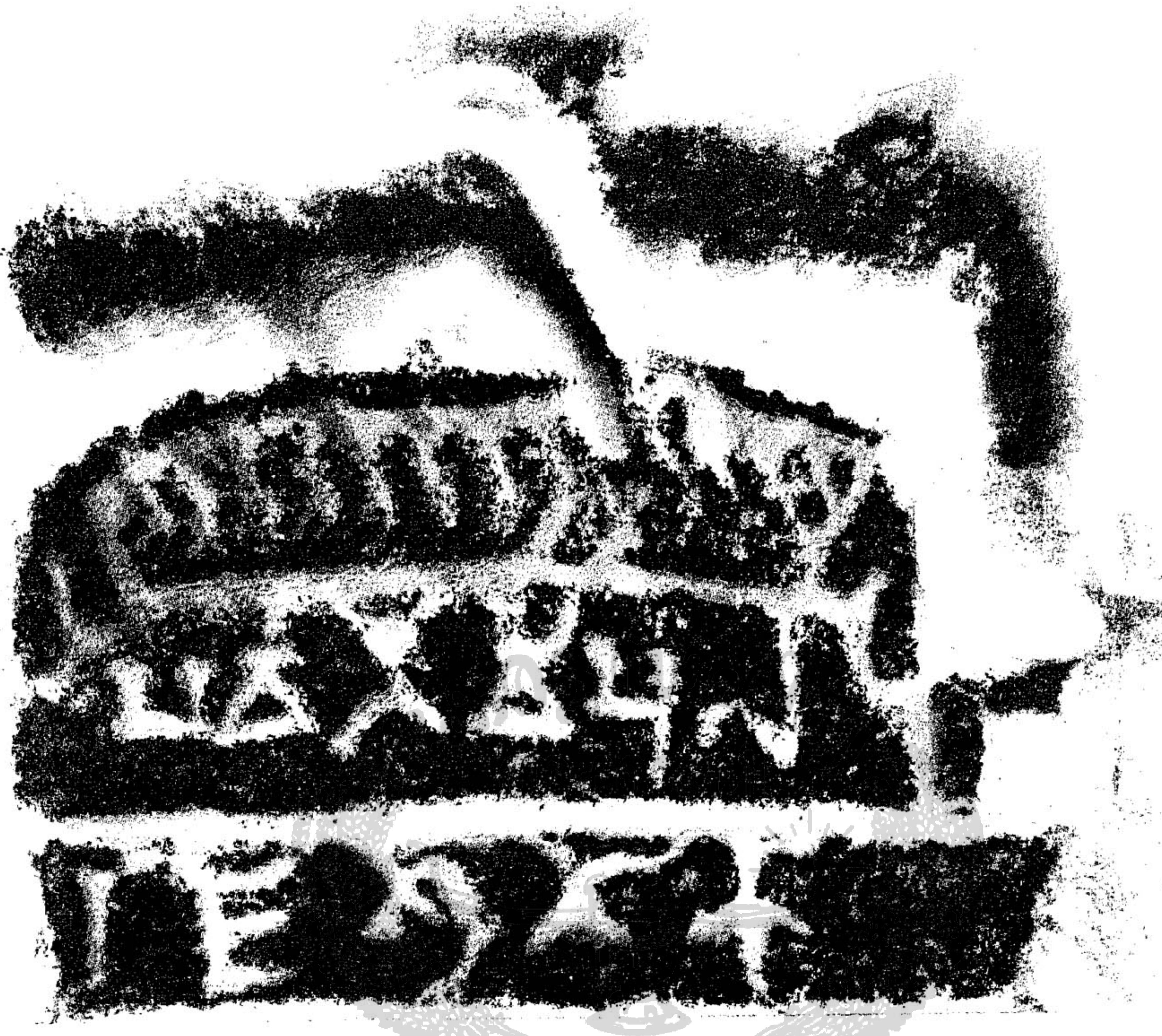
Probably the *o*-mātrā on *Vipul* (*o*) and *Śreṇik* (*o*) partly coincides with the thick lines from which the letters hang. The frieze is labelled like the friezes of Bharhut.

We have here a monumental evidence on the name of the Magadhan king, inscribed within some five centuries of his existence. It is a pity that the whole figure is not available. Probably there had been some traditional picture of the king in sculptures.

The Rājgīr excavation of Mr. Chandra is bringing out remarkable things.



Rājgīr [Maniār Maṭh] Image Inscription.



*Parvato Vipula*  
*Rājā Śrenika*



# AN UNRECORDED MUHAMMADAN INVASION OF NEPAL

[WITH PLATE]

*By* K. P. JAYASWAL

1. In modern books on Nepal<sup>1</sup> there is no reference of any Muhammadan invasion of Nepal. Nor is there any such reference in any Muhammadan History. And the present-day belief prevalent both in Nepal and British India is that Nepal was never visited by any Muhammadan conqueror. But the fact is incontestable that the Muhammadan power did reach Nepal and that it did measure swords with the kingdom of Nepal and that it was successful for the time being, though finally repelled. The material for this conclusion, newly discovered, is set out below.

2. Anyone who knows the terrain of Nepal must be struck with admiration for those who can lead an army into Nepal. Hindu kings of Tirhut had twice invaded and succeeded in subjugating Nepal. But the Muhammadans as a rule were poorer fighters in the hills and they mostly avoided difficult countries in the hills. The success of King

<sup>1</sup> The earlier authorities are Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Wright and Lévi. They utilize the national records (the Chronicles) of Nepal, Wright giving a complete translation of the Chronicle. Landon is the most recent writer [1928].



Shamsuddîn Iliyās of Bengal (to be described below), therefore, impresses the mind more deeply on account of its being an exception in the Muhammadan centuries.

3. This invasion of the Bengal king which was marked with general incendiarism explains the loss of royal records which one would have expected in the royal offices and the treasury of Paśupati Nāth which is as important as any royal archive. Iliyās burnt down the capital and many shrines. The idol of Paśupati, which had come down from at least the Gupta times, was also damaged by Iliyās. But for this conquest we would have obtained official records of administration going back to the Gupta times, i.e., the Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal.

4. Last April (1936) I was permitted to visit Nepal, thanks to the courtesy of His Highness Sir Juddh Shamsēr Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal, and the kind offices of Śrī 6 Rājaguru Pandit Hemarāja Śarmā, C. I. E. The fact of some stone images having broken noses was pointed out to me insistently by my venerable and esteemed friend Mahā-paṇḍita Rāhulā Sāṅkṛtyāyana who was present in Nepal at the time and whose constant companionship I had the advantage of enjoying in visiting historic places in Nepal. But the local explanation by the common people and scholars of this fact offered was that the damage was accidental. That the damage was not



accidental is evident in the large and beautiful figure of Gaṅgā at Paśupati Nāth and in a number of stone Buddhist images at the Svayambhū Nāth Stūpa. In the course of my examination of the well-preserved inscriptions at Svayambhū Nāth, the most important Buddhist shrine in Nepal, an inscribed slab<sup>1</sup> to the west of the Tibetan Vihāra situated in front of the great Stūpa was discovered. It having struck me as a record unpublished before, I took two impressions of it the next day<sup>2</sup>. The copies of the inscription brought by me are now in the Patna Museum, one of which is being reproduced here. The script is Newārī. Except for two passages (lines 2 and 3) the whole is readable. The inscription when read gave the history of an invasion by *Sūratrāṇa Samasdīna* 'along with a large Bengal army'—Sūratrāṇa-Samasdīno Baṅgāla-bahulair-balaiḥ.<sup>3</sup> The inscription is in incorrect Sanskrit. The last line is in Newārī. Lines 1-18 are in verse, except the invocation in the beginning. Lines 18-34 are in prose. Lines 35-37 are again verses. Lines 38-40 giving the date and the concluding line [in Newārī], giving the name of the engraver, are in prose. The text is given in Appendix A.

5. The inscription is dated in the 492nd year  
 Summary of the of the Nepal era (1371-72 A. D.),  
 Inscription. the full-moon day of Āśvina, Wed-

<sup>1</sup> An inscribed slab is called a śilā-patra in the living terminology of Nepal. The slab, fixed in a wall, tends to be in a lane between two rows of houses.

<sup>2</sup> Later I saw a good impression of the inscription in the State Library in the file of impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The orthography of the inscription makes no distinction between *b* and *v*, and throughout only *v* is used for both.



nesday, in the Aśvinī Nakṣhatra, Suka-karma Yoga, when the repair and restoration of the Stūpa was completed and Pratīṣṭhā (i.e. reinstallation) was made and the standard (*dhvaja*) was planted. This was necessitated because in the Nepal year 467 (1346<sup>1</sup> A. D.) in the month of Mārga-Sīrsha, on the 10th day of the bright fortnight, on Thursday, in the reign of King Jayarāja Deva, *Sūratrāṇa-Samasdīna* (Sultān Shamsuddīn), along with a large army of Bengal, having come into Nepal, broke and burnt completely the Dharmadhātustūpa (the pious relic shrine), the banner of the Muni (Buddha), which had been founded by the predecessors of the King (or, by earlier people).

After sometime King Jayarāja Deva died, having been burnt while asleep, along with his palace. He was succeeded by his son Jayārjuna Deva. And while he was ruling over Nepal, Jayasthiti Malla, the moon of the Kshatriya ocean, was protecting, by favour of the rise of the Buddha's merits, the city of Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa. In that city there was Rāja-Harsha, whose elder brother was Raṇadeva and younger brother was Rudradeva. With his two brothers he had distinguished himself by defeating the enemies [Muhammadans]. Rāja-Harsha, having obtained permission from both the kings who were like Indra and Upendra (Jayārjuna-deva and Jayasthiti Malla), rebuilt the 'Dharm-

<sup>1</sup> The Nepal Era began on the 20th October 879 A. D.



Dhātū Stūpa on the Sāhya.' He decorated it with a gold umbrella, having performed one lac *Abutis*. The donor, Rāja-Harsha, was a Mahāyānist Newār nobleman. His father's name is given as the Minister Raṇa-śakti-Malla Bhalloka. His several relations are associated with the donation. The full name of Rāja-Harsha was *Rāja-Harsha-Malla Bhalloka*; his wife's name was *Joti-Lakshmī*. With him was also associated in this act of piety his nephew (sister's son) *Jūḍha Simha*, a resident of Kharapura.<sup>1</sup>

The staff, set with gems, the umbrella, the *kalāśa* and the *dhvaja* were all made ready in the town of Kāṣṭhamandapa, and then for four days an illumination was kept up; and the materials were taken in a procession. All the paraphernalia were of gold.

The names of the architect, the artist in charge of the woodwork, the officiating priests, the astrologer etc. are noted at the end. And the composer adds an apology for his possible mistakes.

The date of the inscription is repeated.

6. The Sultan Shamsuddin of the inscription is undoubtedly Shamsuddīn Iliyās Historical Survey. who ruled in Bengal as an independent king [Sultān] from 1342 to 1357 A. D. He is known to posterity, from his habit of taking *bhāṅg*,

<sup>1</sup> His later career was marked with distinction. He helped the Shurqi Dynasty, and belonged to the court of King Jayasthiti Malla. The *ḍha* in his name is probably a mistake for *ṭha*. The Sanskritized form of his name was Yūtha-simha. *Nepal Cat.*, p. 246, *Rāmāyana-nāṭaka* by Dharmagupta who started publishing his books in 1360 A.D. (p. xxxviii). [The Newārs pronounce the *t*-class letters as *ṭ*-class ones and *vice versa*.]



as the *Bhaṅgar Sultān*, an appellation current still, up to the United Provinces. During his reign there arose a dispute between Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq and him for the possession or suzerainty of Tirhut. Hari-Simha-Devā, the last independent Hindu king of Tirhut had been driven away into Nepal by Muhammad Tughluq in 1324 A.D. and Fīrūz Shāh, on the authority of Vidyāpati, set up the Oinwār dynasty in Tirhut. It was not clear up to this time as to what that power was against which the Oinwārs were seeking protection at Delhi from time to time. It seems now certain that it was the Bengal power which kept on troubling the Oinwār subordinates of Delhi. And owing to the rivalry between Delhi and Gaur two parties in the Oinwār dynasty were set up, one depending upon Delhi and Jaunpur and the other on Bengal.

There had been a rivalry between Nepal and Tirhut, the latter under the dynasty of Nānyadeva. Harisimhdeva when pressed by the Delhi Tughluq invaded Nepal. Nepal seemed to have had leaned towards Delhi, for we find a coin struck in Nepal in the name of Alāuddin Khalji (1296-1316).<sup>1</sup>

Nepal thus being allied with Delhi was a natural object of attack for Iliyās. Hājī<sup>2</sup> Iliyās with his royal

<sup>1</sup> “*A silver coin struck in Nepal in the name of ‘Alāuddin, Muhammad Shāh Khilji’*” (Durga Prasad, Numismatic Supplement 1929, p. 37), where it may be added, the middle circle (*ob.*) reads *śrī śrī-Pati*. This imitation of ‘Alauddin Khilji’s coin must have been made by one of the Malla kings in the first part of the fourteenth century. This is the earliest Nepal coin of the Middle Ages, and shows that Nepal acknowledged the influence of the great Khalji.

<sup>2</sup> It is recorded that Hājīpur (district Muzafferpur) was founded by him.



name of *Shamsuddîn* succeeded in 1343 to the throne of Bengal and ruled as an independent king up to 1357, i.e., he ruled in the time of Muhammad Tughluq and Fîrûz Shâh Tughluq of Delhi. Iliyâs is said to have invaded Jājnagar (in Orissa) and the Muhammadan historians note that he also invaded the South-Eastern provinces of the kingdom of Delhi and overran Tîrhut. But his invasion of Nepal is not mentioned, evidently on account of his failure there. Such defeats have been, as a rule, ignored and omitted. His invasion of Tîrhut was in 1352 A. D. (Camb. H. I. vol. iii, pages 175 and 263). As he did not reach Tîrhut before 1352 he must have reached Nepal by the Bengal route.

7. There is a *Vamśāvalī* composed in the reign of Jayasthiti Malla, Further information from *Vamśāvalī*. pages of which have been reproduced by Dr. Bendall in his Nepal Catalogue. One of the pages reproduced, curiously enough, gives further details of this invasion but both Dr. Bendall and Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri left the passage unread and the datum escaped notice. It is as surprising as the non-detection of the Svayambhū Nāth inscription by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Sylvain Lévi. The *Vamśāvalī* reads as follows:—[for the original see Appendix B]

<sup>1</sup> Of the queen Devala-Devī .....<sup>2</sup> was achieved with great difficulty. After this Śrī Pāśupatimalla Deva was imprisoned. By the consent of both families in the year 467 Śrāvaṇa Badi 4.

<sup>1</sup> *Nepal Cat.*, i, Plate 8.

<sup>2</sup> Passage in the previous leaf, not reproduced by Bendall.



Śrī Jayarāja Deva was crowned by common consent.

A son, Śrī Jayārjuna Deva, was born to  
467 Vaiśākha Sudi 7 Jayarāja Deva from his wife  
Rudrama-Devī.

The treasures of Śrī Śrī Devaladevī, and of Lord Paśu-  
468 Kārttika pati were drawn upon.  
Pūrṇmāsī

[1347 A. D.]

By the king Jayarāja Deva the treasury of Lord  
469 Vaiśākha Paur- Paśupati was drawn upon.  
ṇamāsī.

[In the same year] Samasādina, the Sūratāna of  
the East, having come into Nepal broke Paśupati in  
three pieces and burnt the whole of Nepal. The nation loudly  
laments.

A great ceremony of propitiation called the Great-Suffer-  
470 Mārgaśira Sudi 9. ing Propitiation was performed.

[1349 A.D.]

Then Devala Devī...(record goes to the next page).

8. This document is also by a contemporary  
writer like the inscription, both having been recorded  
in the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. Now  
taking the two documents together we have the  
following chronology of the invasion.

In 467 in the month of Śrāvaṇa there is a dynastic  
Year 467 (1346 revolution by which Jayarāja  
A. D.) Deva comes to the throne.<sup>1</sup>

(In the same year Jayārjuna is born, before his  
father's coronation).

In the same year 467, according to the inscrip-  
tion, in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, i.e., four months  
after the coronation, Shamsuddin Iliyās reached the  
hill of Svayambhū Nāth, which is at a distance of about

<sup>1</sup> The name is omitted in the other Vāṁśāvalī lists, while  
it is well-established from Manuscript colophons noticed by  
Bendall.



6 miles from the temple of Paśupati. Iliyās had selected the right moment for his invasion, that is, a moment when a dynastic revolution was in progress in Nepal. He reached the outskirts of the capital within four months of the coronation of Jayarāja Deva.

According to the constitutional law of Nepal the king of Nepal can draw upon the treasury of Lord Paśupati only under two circumstances—when the country is invaded by a foreigner or when there is a famine in the country. We thus understand that after six months from the date of Shamsuddin's arrival in the valley of Nepal Jayarāja Deva in 468 borrows money from the temple of Paśupati. Evidently a stiff fight was put up by the king of Nepal, and the war continued for 17 months before Shamsuddīn could break his wrath on Paśupati. And in the meantime on the last day of Vaiśākha in 469 (= 1348 A. D.) the king of Nepal had made a second draw upon the treasury of Paśupati.

The year 470 saw Nepal free from the Muhammadans<sup>1</sup> and the Propitiation Ceremony [thanks-giving] was performed. It seems certain that the efforts of the nobles of Kathmandu headed by Rāja Harsha drove the Muhammadans out.

9. In 1352 A. D. Iliyās is said to have occu-

<sup>1</sup> For several years Nepal had been torn by external and internal troubles; her recovery in 1349 was therefore remarkable. In 1324 she was invaded by Harisimhadeva, who was soon driven away by the army [*I. A.*, XIII. 414, c. IX. 6]; in 1328 Ādityamalla Khasiyā invaded the valley; up to 1346 two families (Malla) had ruled (*Nepal Cat.*, 10-11).



pied Tirhut which was then under the king of Delhi. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq who had come to throne in 1351 A. D. marched against Shamsuddīn in 1353 A. D. and drove him to a remote corner in Bengal, to an island in the Brahamaputra (Ikdala). Thus from 1352 A. D., Iliyās was busy in Tirhut and Bengal, having retreated in 1349-50 from Nepal.

Jayarāja Deva was alive and ruling in the year 476, i.e., 1355-56 A. D. when a manuscript was written and dated in his reign<sup>1</sup>, i.e. six years later than the destruction of Paśupati<sup>2</sup>.

10. It now becomes clear that it was this Muhammadan invasion which indirectly led to the supersession of the Malla dynasty of Nepal. With Jayasthiti Malla begins the Kārṇāṭa dynasty of Nepal which lasted up to 1768 A. D. when the present Gurkha dynasty dispossessed them. Jayasthiti was a descendant of the king Hari-Simha Deva, the last king of Tirhut who was driven away in 1324 A. D. Hari-Simha Deva is said to have entered Nepal where some conquests had already been made by his minister Chaṇḍeśvara, as noted in his books. Dr. Bendall unnecessarily disbelieves

New light on the accession of Jayasthiti Malla.

<sup>1</sup> Bendall's Catalogue of Nepal Mss., p. 27 (Introduction).

<sup>2</sup> The present Paśupati idol is a *Mukhalingam* after the style of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta sculptures. It seems that the broken idol is the one which stood in the small stone temple (Gupta Style) at Pasupati Nāth, where there is still a mṛiga (antelope) on a fragment, and a broken human figure is standing below on the Bagmati, or there might have been another Paśupati image on the outskirts of the capital as there were several minor Paśupati images in the valley. The Vamśāvalī, however, suggests the main Paśupati.



the episode of Hari-Simha Deva's political connection with Nepal about 1324 A. D.<sup>1</sup> There is still existing in the royal palace at Bhātgaon a large temple of the goddess Tulajā of Hari-Simha Deva, still known by the name of the founder. It seems that Hari-Simha Deva did establish himself at Bhātgaon but was driven out as the Vamśāvalī asserts. His descendants became subordinate to the Mallas, for we find Jayasthiti assuming the 'Malla' ending to his name and as a subordinate governor of the city of Kāshṭhamaṇḍapa (Kathamandu) in the reign of Jayā rjuna Malla in the year of our inscription, i.e., 492 = 1371 A. D.<sup>2</sup> Up till now this position was not known that Jayasthiti Malla started his career as a subordinate to the last Malla ruler. Jayā rjuna Malla mentioned in our inscription as reigning in 492 (= 1371-1372 A. D.) had come to the throne in or before 484 in the month of Kārttika (= 1363 October) when a manuscript was copied under his reign<sup>3</sup>. He was still reigning in Śaka 1297 (= 1376 A. D.) when another manuscript is dated.<sup>3</sup> About the year 500 (= 1380) when a manuscript was copied at Bhātgaon, Jayasthiti Malla is mentioned as king. And in this year 503 (= 1383 A. D.) the Vamśāvalī notes the position of Jayasthiti as a full sovereign, Jayā rjuna 'having

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, p. 14 of the Catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Before this date, in 1354, he had already married Rājā-ladevī, an heiress to the royal house of Nepal (Bendall, pp. 11-12). But this connexion did not give him the throne for some years.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Bendall, Introduction, p. 12. See his inscription of the year 512 (1392 A. D.) in Bendall's *Journey*, p. 83.



been broken.<sup>74</sup> It appears that from 500-503 (= c. 1380-1383 A. D.) there was a period of struggle. Jayasthiti had married Rājalla-devī, a Malla princess, but he did not base his claim on that ground for succession. He is described officially by his contemporaries as *the husband of Rājalla-devī*, which is a mere compliment to the Queen,—a feature of courtesy well-established in Nepal, where smaller coins are still struck in the name of the Queen-consort. But in reality he became the real ruler at Kathmandu within a few years of the Muhammadan invasion.

11. It seems that Rāja-Harsha and other nobles who are mentioned to have defeated “the enemies” and who repaired the Svayambhū Nāth Stūpa with such ceremony and who praise Jayasthiti as the moon of the Kshatriya ocean, had risen against Shamsuddîn and driven him out with the help of Jayasthiti. In the Nepal year 492 Jayasthiti was considered to be the most notable man in Nepal.



## APPENDIX A

**Inscription dated 492 NE (1371-1372 A.D.) at  
Svayambhunath, Kathamandav**

- (L. 1.) [ओं न]मः धर्मधातवे ॥  
जगताल्लादसच्छास्त्रहेतवे धर्मधातवे ॥  
सर्वलोकतमोहानिकारिणेस्तु सदा नमः ॥  
[वहु ?](L. 2.)भवफलजिह्वां यस्य नामापि शृण्वन्  
..... जन्मिनाध्यायमानाम् ॥  
निरुपमगु(L. 3.)णवीर्य्यत्यक्तसंसारपाशः  
..... पातु वो धर्मधातुः ॥  
आसीद्धर्म-निधि(L. 4.)द्वयैकजलधिर्नेपालभूमण्डले  
ख्यातः श्री ज य रा ज दे व नृपतिः तेनैव राज्यं कृते ॥  
(L. 5.) तस्मिन्नेव विराजति स्म विमलः स्तूपो मुनेः केतनः  
श्री सा ह्ये शिखरिप्रसिद्धभुवने प्र(L. 6.)स्थापितः पूर्वकैः ॥  
स प्त ष ष्ठा धि के श्री म न्ने पा ला ब्द च तुः श ते ।  
मार्गशीर्षे सिते पक्षे दशम्या[+] (L. 7.) गुरुवासरे ॥  
सू र त्रा ण स म स्दी नो वङ्गालवहुलैर्वलैः ॥  
सहागत्य च ने पा लो भग्नो दग्धस्तु (L. 8.) सर्वशः ॥  
कालेन कियता धीमान्स राजा त्रिदिवङ्गतः ।  
एवं भवनदग्धस्तु सुसुप्तोपि यथास्थि(L. 9.)तः ॥  
श्री ज या र्जु न दे वे न सूनुना तस्य भूभृतः ।  
सम्पाल्यमाने ने पा ले वीरनारायणेन तु ॥  
श्री ज(L. 10.)य स्थि ति म ल्ले न क्षत्ररत्नाकरेन्दुना ।  
पालिते तत्र कालेन बुद्धपुण्योदयेन च ॥  
श्री का ष्ठ म ण्ड प(L. 11.)पुरी विमलातिरम्या  
तस्यां जयी वसति वीर्य्यगुणैरुदाराः (रः) ।  
श्री रा ज ह र्ष इति सर्वजन-प्रणीतः  
श्री(L. 12.) (म ? )ज्जयामृतकरः सुविशालकीर्तिः ॥  
तस्य श्री र ण दे व इत्यवरजः श्री रु द्र दे वा नुजः  
ख्यातो(L. 13.)[ती ?]व-समस्तशुद्धचरितो वीरः प्रतापोज्ज्वलः ।  
ताभ्यां सार्द्धमतो विजित्य च रिपून् सत्कीर्तिकान्तद्यु(L. 14.)तिः ॥



तस्मिन्नेव पुरे मनोहरतरे श्री राज हर्षः स्थितः ॥

आदायाज्ञा (—)द्वयोराज्ञोरिन्द्रोपेन्द्रसमान(L. 15.)योः ।

सज्जीकृतं शुभोद्दिष्ट-राज-हर्षेण धीमता ॥

पुनर्निर्मायते स्तूपं धर्मधातुसमुद्भवम् ।

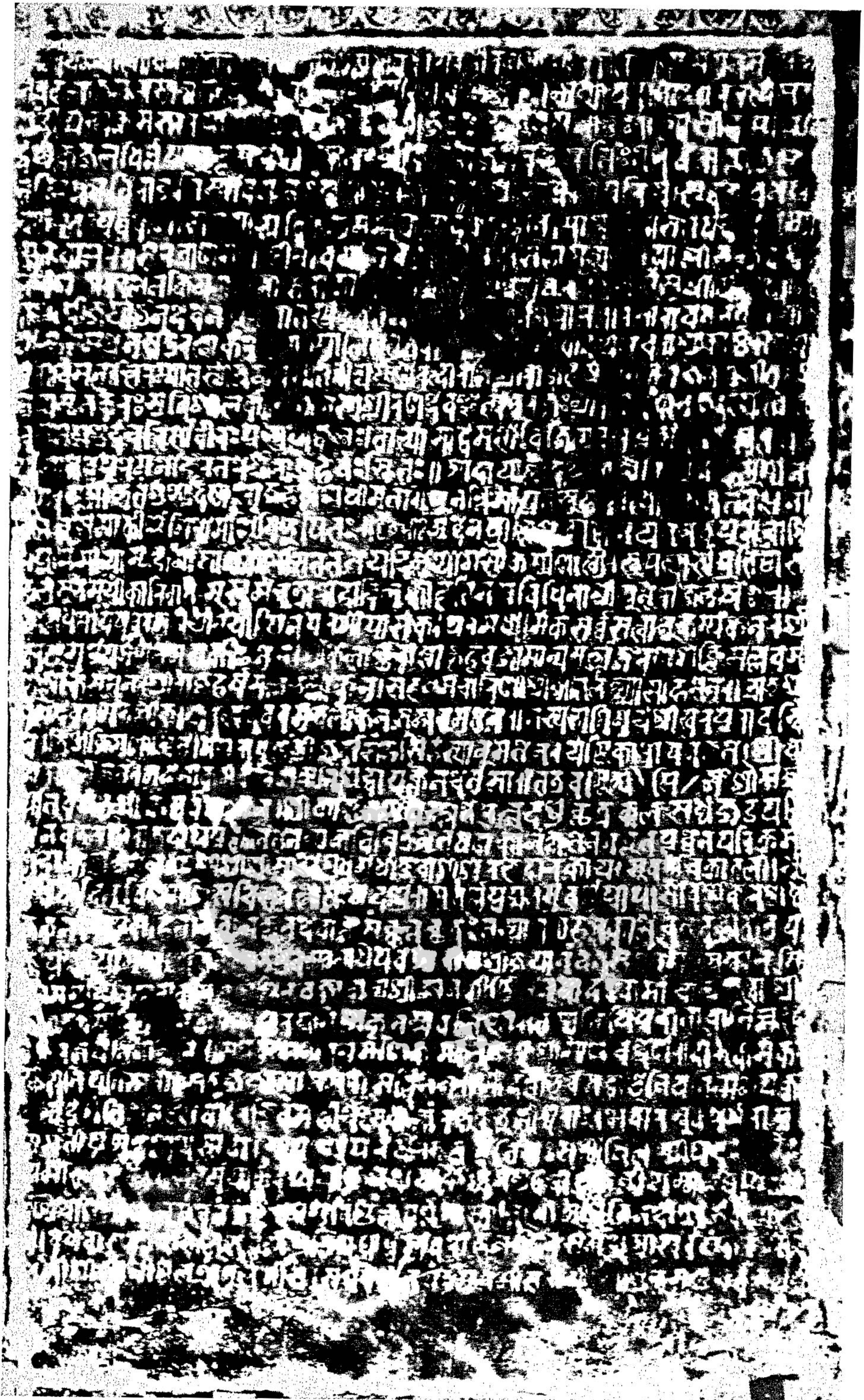
ना(L. 16.)ना-रत्नसमाकीर्ण-शिरोमणिविभूषितम् ॥

अब्देनेपालिकाङ्केनयननवयुगेचास्त्रि(L. 17.)ने पूर्णिमाया-  
मृक्षे मासानुकारे सिततनयदिने योगसौकर्मणाख्ये ।

स्तूपस्यास्य प्रतिष्ठां स(L. 18.)कलशुभमयीं कारिता तैः सुस्वर्ण-  
छत्रारोहादिलक्षाहुतिमखविधिना श्रीयुतै राज हर्षैः ॥

(L. 19.) देयं धर्मोयं प्रवरमहायान-यायिन परमोपासक । परमधार्मिक  
सर्वसत्त्वानुकंपकेन । श्री(L. 20.)काष्ठमण्डपमहानगरावस्थितेन । श्रीकेला  
छेद्वाखाकुटुंबजामात्यमूर्त्यङ्ग-रणशक्तिमल्लवर्म(L. 21.)भल्लोक  
सुतेन । श्रीराजहर्षमल्लभल्लोकेन । सहधर्मचारिणी श्रीजोती-  
लक्ष्म्या सहितेन ॥ भ्रातृश्री(L. 22.)रणदेववर्मभल्लोक । श्रीरुद्र-  
देववर्मभल्लोकेन सहानुमतेन ॥ तस्य भागिनेय श्रीखरपुरावस्थि  
(L. 23.)त । त्रिशक्तिगुणान्वित । महारावुत्त श्रीजूढसिंहसिंहस्यानुमतेन ।  
यष्टिकारोपनकृते । श्रीथाः । (L. 24.) दारुकर्मकृते । महता कर्मकारेण  
अतिश्रद्धायुक्तेन चेतसा ॥ तत्र च । मूर्त्यसिङ्गश्रीराज(L. 25.)पति-  
वर्मभल्लोकपूर्वङ्गमेन । श्रीकाष्ठमण्डपस्थाने रत्नदण्डछत्रकलसध्वज  
उपस्थि(L. 26.)तेन चतुरहोरात्रदीपप्रज्वलितेन नानाविचित्र-नेत(त्र)-पटा-  
कालंकृतेन भूतपूर्वेन परिक्रम(L. 27.)महायात्राकृतेन ॥ ओं श्रीश्रीश्री-  
साह्येगु-धर्मधातु-वागीश्वरभट्टारकाय सुवर्णचक्रावली । सुव(L. 28.)  
र्णघटित विश्वमणिखचितरत्नोष्णीषदण्ड ॥ सुवर्णखट्वा । सुवर्णपीथ । सौवर्ण-  
कलशध्व(L. 29.)जकनकदण्डसहित । नवीनकृतदेवाङ्गसं(स)छन्नछत्रः  
तस्यावरोहनकाले चतुरहोरात्रय(L. 30.)ज्ञपूर्णयामुपढोक्तः ॥ तत्रैव स्थाना-  
धिपवज्राचार्य श्रीजयानंदः । स एव मण्डपस्थानसि(L. 31.)कोमगुह्नि-  
विहारावस्थितपण्डितवज्राचार्यश्रीज्ञानकीर्त्तिसेनपादः कर्माचार्ये कृत्वा  
श्री(L. 32.)[व]ज्रधातुदेगुरिक्रमेन जीर्णोद्धारप्रतिष्ठाकृतं भवति स्म ॥  
तस्य तिथिप्रदाता वानिहं (L. 33.)दैवज्ञ रत्नपतिनाम्नेति ॥ स एव  
स्थाने विश्वमणिकर्मकर[भि]क्षु श्रीमार्यचन्द्रेण ॥ दारुकर्मकर(L. 34.)  
स्थपति-पतिभारो सभ्रातृज जगरामभारो सहितेन ॥





Svayambhū Nath Inscription of the Nepal Year 492  
< 1371 A. D. >

K. P. J.

J. B. O. R. S., 1936.



मोदन्तां भवसङ्कटे निपतिताः त्यक्त्वा(L. 35.)जना दुर्गतिं ॥

निःशेषारि जितं(1) महीञ्च सकलां रक्षन्तु भूमीश्वराः ।

मेघारम्बुधरैर्धराम्ब(L. 36.)सुमतीं पूर्यन्तु तोयैस्सदा ।

मत्पुण्योपचयैर्लभन्तु कृतिनः संवोधि-लक्ष्मीपदम् ॥

इदं (L. 37.) प्रसस्तिकं तस्मान्मया मंदधिया कृतम् ॥

यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा क्षमनीयम्महद्वुधैः ॥

(L. 38.) श्रेयोस्तु ने पा ल-सं वत् ४९२ अ शु नि शु क ल पू र्ण मा-  
स्या न्ति थौ अ श्वि नि न क्ष त्रे सु क र्म यो गे (L. 39.) ॥ वु ध वा स रे  
प्र ति ष्ठा सं पू र्ण प्र ति प द्वा ध्व जा व रो ह न दि व से न । थ्व आ ख र ठा क र या (L. 40.)  
क र मी श्री मा नी ग ल ज्ञ मूल मी स । स ए व था न यं तु पू ल मी स ॥ \* ॥  
शु भ म स्तु सर्व दा

## APPENDIX B

### Text of the Vamsavali, Nepal Catalogue, i, pl. 8.

- L. 1. श्री दे व ल दे वी नां अतिकष्टेन प्रतिपादितं ॥ अत्रान्तरे श्री प शु प ति-  
म ल दे व-बंधनं करोति ॥ उभयकुलसानुमतेन सम्बत् ४६७ श्रावण  
वदि ४ श्री ज
- L. 2. य रा ज दे व स्य राजा कृत्यः सर्वसंमतेन सम्बत् ४६७ वैशाखशुदि ७ ॥  
श्री ज य रा ज दे व स्य पत्नी श्री रु द्र म दे वी स तस्य पुत्र  
श्री ज या र्जु न दे व
- L. 3. जात ॥ सम्बत् ४६८ कार्तिकपूर्णमासी श्रीश्री दे व ल दे वी नाम्  
श्री प शु प ति भ टा र क स्य कोष प्रढोक्तम् ॥ सम्बत् ४६९ वैशाखा-  
पौर्णमास्यां
- L. 4. [ श्री ] श्री रा जा ज य रा ज दे वे न श्री प शु प ति भ टा र क स्य  
कोष प्रढोक्तम् ॥ तेन तत्र पूर्व सुर ता न स म स दि ने ना गत्य  
नेपालम् श्री प शु प ति स्त्रिखं-
- L. 5. डी कृता ने पा ल स्मस्त भस्मीकृतानां हाहाकरन्ति लोकश्च ॥ सम्बत्  
४७० मार्गशिरशुदि ९ महाकष्टनुषमिः भक्तपुरे ॥ तदनन्तर श्री  
दे व ल दे वी नां [ स्म ? ]



# AN ACCOUNT OF FIROZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ

(*From Sirat-i-Firozshāhi*)\*

By PROF. K. K. BASU, M.A., T.N.J. COLLEGE  
BHAGALPUR

[For a prefatory note on the work *vide* JBORS.  
XXII. 13.]

Nauroz,<sup>1</sup> the son-in-law of Burmah Shirin, and the guide and leader of the vain, despicable and perturbed band, the slanderer of fair names, the ungrateful and unjust, who having come to the court of the Sultan from Turkistan in a poor and destitute condition, was nourished with the morsel from the table of generosity and the gift from the tray of favours of the cherisher of the poor (i.e., the Emperor).

## VERSE

Whatever demanded the Sultan from fortune  
and divine power

Heaven permitted, and made no enquiries.

But for thy dignity, oh Emperor !

No event can find its way in the vicinity of  
countries.

\* See Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXII. Part I, page 13.

<sup>1</sup> Yahiya calls him Nuroz Karkuj. See my *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak shāhi* (Gaekwad's oriental Series) p. 121. Nizām-ud-dīn and Zīa Barni call him Nauroz Gurgin.







and in evidence of his anger against those reproachful and accursed tribe, girded up his loins for the holy war.

### VERSE

His protection repulses untoward events every-  
day;

It provides a check to all entanglements for  
Islam;

He, who in revealing truths, when opens  
tongue,

Puts nail on the door of misinterpretation.

From its sleep of destruction arises not ever-  
lasting insurrection,

While his (Emperors) eyes, like vigilance, re-  
mains awake;

Before his prudence, wisdom of the malicious  
however cautious

Is like senselessness near sobriety.

His Majesty, by nature auspicious,

Except near him is never yellow

The face of the insurrection of the age !

Ever on the people are his hands of generosity;

Ever near destruction are the steps of his  
enemies;

His banner with a slight motion

The groove of excessive rebellion destroys.

The lion of the Spheres is always held,

By the shadow of the imperial lion standard.

Of his servitude the world will ever boast of



Till the Cypress<sup>1</sup> and Lily are among the  
liberated.

With followers, sons, brothers, relatives, friends  
and personal slaves,

VERSE

The party of men—the heirs and relatives, stood  
in all sincerity, in front and behind !  
The Emperor fought the recalcitrants who came  
in thousands.

VERSE

In climes where thy violence conflagration causes  
It cleanses the air of all its impurities.  
In climes where thy kindness scatters grains  
Surely in snare it entraps the griffins;<sup>2</sup>  
The palate of rebellion taste bitter, for,  
At the point of thy lance lies all the sweetness of  
victory.

(Oh Emperor ?)

In the centre of the Universe strike ye thy lance,  
so that oppression  
Within the orbit of the world may not keep its  
feet !

And with an onset the royalists put the battalion  
of the rebels to plunder.

His Majesty,

<sup>1</sup> "In Persian literature the cypress-tree is called *Sarwi āzād* or the free cypress, from its freedom from curvature, and its independence of all support or from its being always green."

<sup>2</sup> "A fabulous bird, often mentioned in Eastern romance : it is celebrated in the *Shah-nāma* as the foster-father and teacher of Zāl, Rustam's father. . ."







At the same time, it so happened that, His Majesty, May God his kingdom perpetuate!

VERSE

If the Sun sheds light on his enemies,  
They become scattered like the particles resembling the "Suha!"<sup>1</sup>

who had set free a number of persons from captivity, and had fulfilled to the best of his ability their claims to consanguinity, conferred upon them favours and offices. But in return for the protection that was afforded to them, these people displayed enmity towards His Majesty. In fact, on their part, the consequences of propinquity should have been obedience to the Emperor and conformity to his wishes, and not perversity and hostility which they had shown.

VERSE

Externally, a mild sheep,  
Internally, a ferocious wolf!

But how little did it affect the benevolence of the Emperor! It is however strange that, these persons regarded themselves as the near relations of His Majesty and stung him at the same time!! Previous to this, when these persons were often favoured with the king's kindness, they would look upon themselves as belonging to the rank of the royal servants, and now, having fully enjoyed the benefits of his indulgence they behaved like foreigners becoming the efficient instruments of fraud and deception.

<sup>1</sup> An obscure star in the Lesser Bear.



Actuated by a sense of perfidy and lust for seizing the country these evildoers struck their nefarious hands on the rope of knavery and treachery. What an error of judgment ! His Majesty, by nature auspicious, is ever the custodian of the believers !! How could any one harbour such evil thoughts against him, and what more wonderful thing than this !!!

### VERSE

One, who is worthy of the country, is the  
Emperor,  
 You can say there is no such territory worthy  
of him !  
 When the world reads out *khutba*<sup>1</sup> in his name,  
auspicious constellation  
 Sacrifices at his pulpit the purse of fortune.  
 When autumn is perfumed with his conviviality  
 The spheres exude sweat in shame for the  
fragrance of his incense !  
 Victory and assistance (of God) ever go before  
him,  
 Wherever goes he, his banner becomes victo-  
rious !

Having an attack of insanity, (the body of insurgents) sometimes won over the keeper of the royal elephants by gifts of large basins full of gold dinars; at times, they provoked (desire) in the foolish, villainous and totally destitute people of the town by false promises. How ludicrous, what could they bestow ! The rumour of their niggardliness was but

<sup>1</sup> A sermon preached in the mosques on a Friday.



current in the world, but how wonderful, they still implored assistance and aid. On occasions, they kept concealed some of those despicables in an ambush. They neglected the fact that, Almighty God in rendering assistance to His chosen had specially favoured him (Emperor), and it was He who was the bestower of sovereignty. The evil designs of the malefactors he (Emperor) frustrated and set at naught.

#### VERSE

With every evil there is a blessing rolled up,  
Soft marrow is arranged inside the bone !

Whatsoever treachery and fraud were displayed by them they were requited with various acts of kindness from the clement Emperor.

Once, these evil-minded persons held a special convivial entertainment in honour of the Emperor, and held out an invitation to the patron of fellowship and the protector of the realm (meaning the Sultan). May God maintain his sovereignty ! Out of natural generosity and in obedience to the *Sunnat*<sup>1</sup>, His Majesty accepted the invitation, though his well-wishers and friends informed him that there was a fear of personal danger if he kept the invitation and that some deadly poison was mixed up with all the victuals and drinks. The Emperor, nevertheless, from natural vigour and bravery did not refuse the invitation, and having sincere belief and firm faith (in God) drank off at the assembly with his own pious hands that deadly potion.

<sup>1</sup> The traditions of Muhammad, supplementing the Qur'ān and held in nearly equal authority.



## VERSE

He who puts his trust in God  
 Holds the celestial horse under his control :  
 If the whole world turns out his enemy  
 Not a hair of his body is bended.

On another occasion (the miscreants) won over by stratagem one of the attendants of the court and caused him to administer, while presenting betel to the Emperor, pills of acacia mixed up with venom. The well-wishers of His Majesty gave him a warning, but in spite of this and notwithstanding the signs of hostility, he partook of the poisoned pill. By the Grace of God, it had no effect on him.

## VERSE

He whom the favour of God protects  
 A spider screens under his web,  
 In his palate poison is transformed into sugar,  
 In his hands stone is changed into jewel ;  
 He who places his head on the threshold of God  
 Puts his head on the top of fortune !

The Emperor, as his wont, owing to his clemency and mercy, connived at the misdemeanour. The people of the country are authentically aware of this fact.

Again, one of those wicked persons, who had joined hands with the King's enemies, secretly taking security in his own malignity, advanced forward and attempted from an ambush to shoot an arrow at the Emperor, when the latter, during the chase, separated himself from his attendants and was left alone. The well-wishers and admirers of the court made the fact







Broad in neck, hoofs small and loins narrow;  
 When wrathful the air is under its control,  
 In attack, a Zephyr with legs restrained :  
 In appearance, a partridge gracefully moving,  
 While walking, a bride with beautiful features :  
 When ran the mare with limbs outstretched,  
 They looked like tough pillars of mountains.

The Emperor addressed the assassin, his voice resembling the mighty note of thunder, "God, the Almighty is my protector and my help ! Whoever has intended to shoot an arrow at me, let him do it, and may the evil designs of the unfortunate fellow be thus disclosed to the public." Upon this, the evil intentioned fellow began to tremble, and down he fell in a swoon.

#### VERSE

He who breathes in thy opposition (oh Emperor!)  
 Will himself be stifled by his hostile breath.  
 Wherever thy phoenix-like desire casts its shade  
 In rank and dignity the *Aanka*<sup>1</sup> becomes smaller  
 than a fly !

(After the above incident) the said ruffian survived for ten years and four, but his name was never disclosed by His Majesty nor did the fellow suffer in receipt of (imperial) rewards and bounties.

On a different occasion, in an hunting expedition, a certain individual shot an arrow towards the game but it struck the Emperor instead. When some of the courtiers mentioned the name of the criminal to

<sup>1</sup> A fabulous bird which makes a distinguished figure in eastern romance.



His Majesty, the latter out of excessive natural generosity, forbade them to speak out the name and himself repudiated the whole incident.

Praise be to God ! the Emperor was under His (safe) custody ! One ought to have known that the Almighty could do away with any misfortune !

Of innate clemency and attainments perfect, the Emperor made his way to the capital.





## Miscellaneous Articles

### *Nepal Chronicles on the Caste of the Guptas*

In JBORS., XIX 114 ff the origin of the Guptas has been discussed. The Mañjuśrī Imperial History would regard them as Jāts from Mathurā (p. 53). On their *Dhārana Gotra*, Mr. Dasharatha Sharma, points out (JBORS., vol. XX, p. 224) that this gotra is still a flourishing one amongst the Jāts.

Now if we turn to the history of Nepal, the Vamśāvalīs mention “*Gupta* kings” just before Ś i v a d e v a, (Lévi, *Nepal*, ii. 122; 157; 72) who according to the Vamśāvalīs, drove this invaders’ dynasty out of Nepal and restored the Lichchhavi dynasty. They are noted to have belonged to the Aheer caste. On referring to another mention (Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 108; Lévi, ii, 72) the “*Gupta* dynasty” are said to have been ‘Goalās’ and interlopers in Nepal. The reference to the end of the Gupta rule in the time of Ś i v a d e v a I who is known from inscriptions to have flourished along with A m ś u v a r m a n (GI., p. 189) seems to be based upon true history. It is supported by ascertained chronology, according to which the dispossession of the Guptas would fall in the period a little after 600 A. D. The Nepal authorities must be referring to the Imperial Guptas or their representatives when they treat of the Guptas who had eight successions coming down to the time of Ś i v a d e v a I.



The alleged caste of the Guptas as Aheer = Skt. (*Ābhīra*) or Goalā (= Skt. *Gopāla*) 'cowherd', which in popular estimation are interchangeable terms, brings them very near the Jāts who are always classed popularly as a variety of Goālās or Aheers. That the Guptas were regarded in Nepal as Goālās or Aheers is fairly a good piece of evidence on their original caste, and lends support to the identification of their caste already proposed in this Journal.

*Identification of the royal names of the Gupta  
Dynasty in Nepal*

The names given in the *Vamśāvalis* of the Gupta Dynasty are given in two places, one (1st column below) as those whose family was thrown out by *Sivadeva*, who re-established the *Suryavāṁśa Lichhavis*; and another, in the beginning where the kings of the Gupta Dynasty who came and ruled in Nepal are enumerated (column 2nd).

	<i>Jaya Gupta I</i>
	<i>Parama Gupta</i>
	<i>Harsha Gupta</i>
	<i>Bhīma Gupta</i>
	<i>Mani [or Mati] Gupta</i>
<i>Vishnu Gupta</i>	<i>Vishnu Gupta</i>
<i>Kṛishna Gupta</i>	<i>Yaksha Gupta</i>
<i>Bhūmi Gupta</i>	<i>Jaya Gupta II</i>

(Lévi, ii, 157, 172).

(Lévi, *Nepal*, ii, 72, Wright,  
p. 108).

This *Jaya Gupta II*, driven out of Nepal, settled down near Janakpur in the Tarai (IA, VII. 89).

Evidently the Guptas dispossessed by *Sivadeva*



(I) had been a Gupta branch settled in Nepal. Jaya Gupta II is known from his coins which have been assigned to "about 600 A. D." (CIM, 121), not 'earlier than the end of the sixth century' (Allan, civ). His copper coins have the Garuḍa emblem of the Guptas. His gold coin is most debased, bearing *Ja ya* vertically and *G* between the legs. That his coins were recognised in Magadha and he had connexion with Magadha is proved now by a mould of his gold coin dug out at Nālandā this month. Uptil now his coins, though recognised as Guptan, could not be attributed to any Gupta line known from inscriptions (V. Smith, CIM, 121; Allan, G.C. 149; Rapson, IC, §96). The family connection with the main line is established by the coinage. Jaya Gupta II, as a ruler settled in the Tarai, in North Bihar, is given no further genealogy, he was evidently the last of the Nepal Guptas.

Lévi's view that the Guptas had no political authority in Nepal cannot be accepted. He misinterprets the Allahabad inscription. Nepal is definitely stated in the inscription to have been a tributary paying *kara* to Samudra Gupta. The Imperial Gupta influence is clearly traceable in the coinage of Nepal of the 6th century—the legend style—*Mānāṅka*, *Guṇāṅka*, after the fashion of Gupta *Vikramāṅka*.

K. P. J.



## THE PLACE OF AGASTYASAMHITĀ IN DHARMAŚĀSTRA LITERATURE

BY BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L., *Kāvyatīrtha*

The publication of Mr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I in 1930 marks the dawning of a new period of research in the domain of ancient and mediæval religious and civil law of the Hindus. It reviews the development of Smṛiti literature through twenty-five centuries, from the earliest times down to 1820 A. D. The body of the work describes in detail more than one hundred authors of Dharmasāstra, while the exhaustive bibliographies give short notes on works and authors of the same.

Mr. Kane writes in p. 507 "अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता mentioned in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, in अपरार्क". But no work has been published under the title of अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता and Mr. Kane has given us no clue of any MS. of the same. One अगस्त्यसंहिता has been edited\* in 1910 with a Bengali translation by the late M. M. Kamalakrishna Smṛititīrtha and published in Bengali characters from the Hitavādī Office of Calcutta. It does not, however, contain the quotations of Agastya in *Kālaviveka* (B. I. edition, p. 277) and *Aparārka* (Ānandāśrama series, p. 1070). The very verses ascribed to Agastya by *Aparārka* are ascribed

\*On the basis of four MSS., one obtained from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, one from the Calcutta Sanskrit College and two from private libraries of Bhatpara, district 24 pergunahs.



by Sūlapāṇi to Pulastya in his *Prāyaścittaviveka* (Cal. ed. in Bengali characters). So it is extremely likely that paleographical similarity of the words अगस्त्य and पुलस्त्य in Devanāgarī script might have occasioned a copyist's error in *Aparārka*. I have not succeeded in finding out the cause of the mention of the alternative title अगस्तिसंहिता by Kane.

The printed *Agastyasambhitā* is, however, an authoritative treatise in continuous metre and partakes of the character of Dharmaśāstra, being composed not later than the 15th century, inasmuch as it has been profusely quoted by Govindananda and Raghunandana, the sixteenth century jurists of Bengal. The former quotes it in his *Varṣakriyākaumudī* and *Śuddhikaumudī*, while the latter quotes it in his *Tithitattva*, *Ekādaśītattva* and *Malamāsatattva*. All the above quotations are found in the printed *Agastyasambhitā* which consists of thirty-two chapters, the verses in each chapter ranging between thirty and sixty. The work embodies a supposed dialogue between Sūtikṣṇa and Agastya, the latter having gone to the hermitage of the former on the Gautami river in the Dandaka forest. The conversation which ranges over many topics of ritual and philosophical interest is carried on between the above two sages, Sūtikṣṇa putting and Agastya answering the questions.

The description of the following topics which are dealt with in the *Agastyasambhitā* will not be out of place here :—

Chap. 1. Dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī.



- Chap. 2. Determination of the knowledge of the Supreme Being.
- Chap. 3. Description of the Rāma incarnation.
- Chaps. 4-5. Description of the hymns and prayers of Rāma.
- Chap. 6. Description of the sacred character of the basil plant.
- Chap. 7. „ of the greatness of the formula of incantation.
- Chap. 8. „ of the teachers of that incantation.
- Chap. 9. Determination of the incantation.
- Chaps. 10-25. Detailed rites in connexion with the worship of Rāma.
- Chaps. 26-29. Rites in connexion with the Rāmanavamī festival.
- Chaps. 30-31. Rites in connexion with Lakṣmaṇamantra.
- Chap. 32. Rites in connexion with Hanumanmantra.

The quotations from the *Agastyaśaṁhitā* in the various works of Govindānanda and Raghunandana are from the following chapters only, viz: 6th, 10th—13th, 16th—18th, 20th, 26th—28th, and 32nd. The quotations from each of the 16th, 18th, 20th, 27th, and 32nd chapters consists of two or three verses, while those from the rest cover almost the entire chapters. The lengthy quotations are concerning the worship of Rāma and the Rāmanavamī festival, and we propose to give a brief description of the latter, as contained in the 28th chapter of the *Agastyaśaṁhitā*, inasmuch as the Bengal *nibandha-*



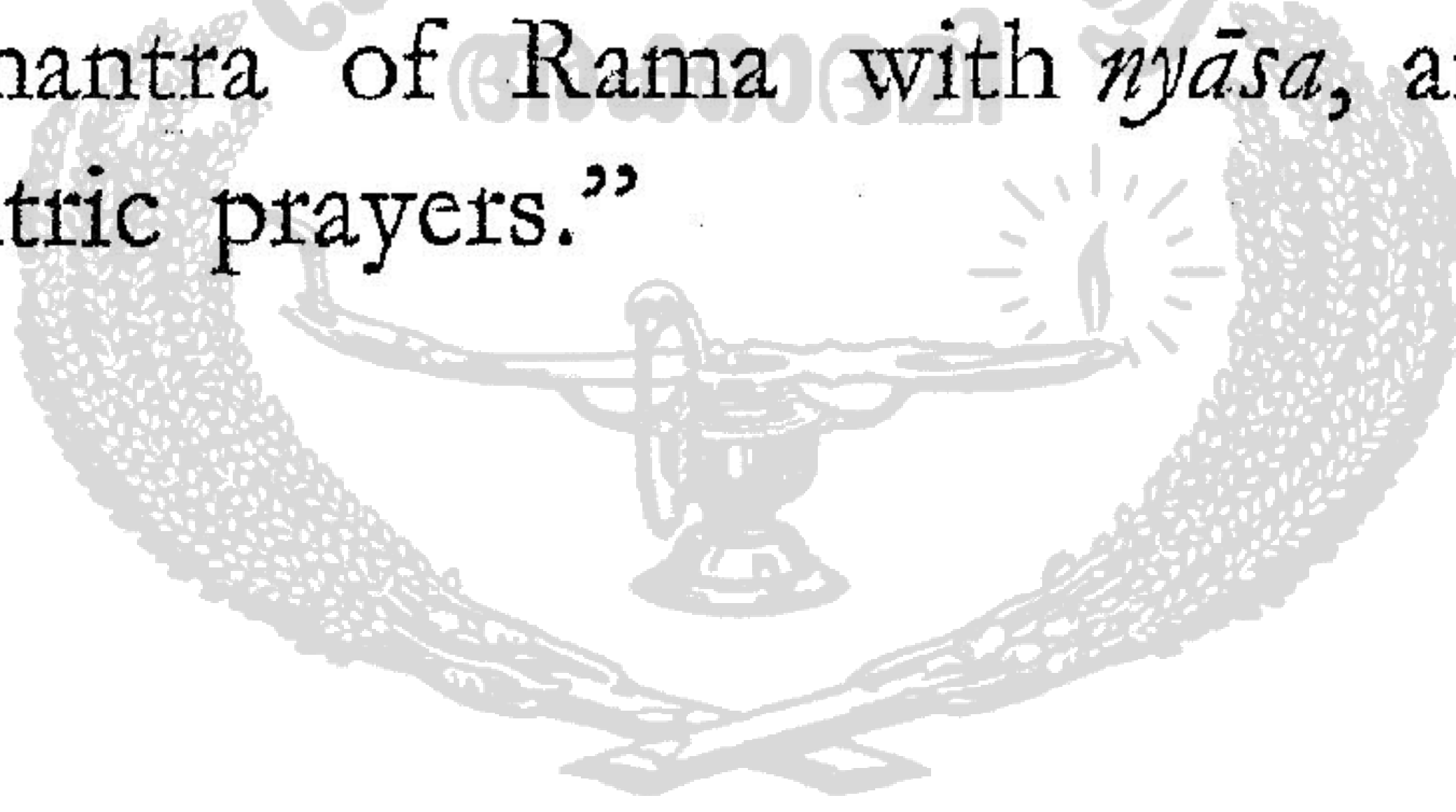
*kāras*, Govindānanda and Raghunandana, have laid down their prescriptions regarding this festival on the sole authority of the *Agastyasamhitā* alone.

“Rama, who is but an incarnation of the God Hari, took his birth in the ninth lunar day of the bright half of the month of *Caitra*. If in any year that lunar day coincides with the asterism of *punarvasu*, it becomes highly auspicious and confers immense good on the worshipper. If the coincidence of the asterism with the lunar day occurs in the midday, the festival is then of the holiest character possible. The period of duration of the Ramanavami festival is more sacred than that of ten millions of solar eclipses. The Supreme Being partially manifested Himself as Rāma in the womb of Kauśalyā, when the sun had gone to the Aries and the *lagna* was the *Karkatā*. The rites, performed on the anniversary of that day in honour of the God Rāma, conduce to the salvation of the performer. Persons, wishing to attain the neighbourhood of the Supreme Being, should fast and offer oblations to the Fathers on that day and abstain from sleep in the night following it. The fool who eats in this day surely goes to the *Kumbhīpāka* hell. All persons should shower in this day bounties on the deserving, according to their circumstances, and charities, however small, if made in that day, will have the spiritual effect of great ones, like the *tulāpuruṣa*. The simple performance of the Ramanavami festival confers on the performer the spiritual benefit accruing from the repeated munificence on solar eclipse days in the holy spot of Kuruksetra. The ninth lunar



day, if beginning from the middle of a solar day, will be discarded by the devotees of the God Viṣṇu who will fast on the following solar day and break their fasts on the next following day.

“The God Rāma will be meditated upon as possessing two hands, shining like blue lotuses, and two eyes, effulgent like red lotuses, and that, dressed with yellow robes and bejewelled head-dress and anointed with celestial things, he is seated in a throne befitting a god; and that, surrounded by holy sages like Vasiṣṭha and others, he is engaged in conversation with Sita, while Lakṣmaṇa, bow and arrows in hand, waits upon him and Bharata and Śatrughna also attend him. Having meditated thus, the worshipper should repeat the following twelve-syllable mantra “ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय” and, if initiated, should repeat the mantra of Rama with *nyāsa*, after having said his tantric prayers.”





## Reviews and Notices of Books

*An Early History of Kauśāmbī.* By NAGENDRA NATH GHOSH, M.A. Head of the Department of History and Civics, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad. Published under the auspices of The Allahabad Archæological Society, 1935. 8½ × 5. Pp. i—xxxvi, 1-120, Plates 1-9, Maps 2.

It is a promising sign of the times that as students of politics are taking to Provincial Autonomy as a prelude to Federation, students of history are concentrating on regional research as an approach to co-ordination comprehending diverse ages, stages, sites and their stories. Living about 35 miles away from Kauśāmbī, Professor Ghosh has attempted to trace its history through Literature and Archæology from the earliest times to the 11th century A. D. On the whole the attempt is creditable.

The author has evidently taken pains to collect his secondary references, but his arrangement of primary sources is rather haphazard. Apart from the Frontispiece, his plates 1-9 place the Aśoka Pillar and a Red-stone Image<sup>1</sup> of the time of Kaniṣka before the Pre-Mauryan Terra-cottas. Archæologists are not

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mookerji in his Introduction, p. xxi, and the author on p. 108, call it an image of the Buddha and then read the inscription describing it as a Bodhisattva. After the publication of Dr. Har Dayal's admirable *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 1932, even a layman should be more discriminating.



agreed as to whether the art of working terra-cotta preceded sculpture in stone, but in the present case no such consideration is involved and the terra-cottas IV—VIII are admittedly pre-Mauryan. The same lack of perspective is apparent in the assessment of the primary literary sources, citations from the Epics, Purāṇas and the Pāli canon. The result is confusion, creating unreal difficulties and ignoring or minimising very real ones.

Thus on p. xvi, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji who writes the Introduction, states that “Kausurabindi was a Kauśāmbeya, i.e., a native of Kauśāmbī.” “Mr. Ghosh refers to Dr. Ray Chaudhary on p. 5, according to the commentator Harisvāmin, Proti Kauśāmbeya was a native of Kauśāmbī, if Harisvāmin’s interpretation is correct.” Now, neither Dr. Mookerji nor Dr. Ray Chaudhary points out that this derivation of Kauśāmbeya from Kauśāmbī is nothing more than a *possible* interpretation by a late author, commenting on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Eggeling, S.B.E., 44, 153, n. 5). There is another and more authoritative meaning noted by Macdonell and Keith in *Vedic Index* (1912), Vol. I, p. 193 : “Kauśāmbeya is the patronymic (‘descendant of Kuśāmba’) of a teacher Proti in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xii, 2, 2, 13; Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 2. 24) according to the St. Petersburg Dictionary: a view supported by the fact that Kūśāmba actually occurs as the name of a man in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (viii. 6. 8).” This chronological confusion leads the author to his next false step—“There are several traditional accounts of the origin of the city of Kauśāmbī, but none of them has any



semblance of connection with the other. They are often contradictory.\*\*\* no historical value” (p. 1). A synchronistic setting of Purāṇic, Vedic and Epic evidence would remove this contradiction, even though it may not associate the earliest known Kūśāmba with the site of Kauśāmbī. More than one Kuśāmbas are referred to through the ages just as Kauśāmbī was founded, refounded and continued through more than one age. The 48th king of the family of Svāyambhuva Manu (4821 B.C. according to the Purāṇas) was Prācīna-Kuśa or Prācīnabarhis. The 152nd king of the family of Ikṣvāku of Vai-vasvata Manu (2100 B. C. according to the Purāṇas) was Kuśa. The 2nd king of the family of Bṛhadratha (1652 B. C. according to the Purāṇas) was Kuśāgra. The terra-cottas at Kauśāmbī on the Jumna bear such close affinity to the terra-cottas discovered in the Ganges valley, Nerbudda valley and the Indus valley the last of which has been assigned to the 4th millennium B. C. (cf. Marshall, Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. I, p. 106), that the earliest stratum of Kauśāmbī may be equated with any of these three Kuśas, checking the successive stages of literary tradition through the successive strata of archæological finds. Hence an independent chronological setting of these two primary (literary and archæological) sources and then their synthetic synchronism have far more than a visual value and may be recommended to Professor Ghosh if and when he recasts his pages.

This uncertainty of background has sometimes vitiated the author's utilisation of secondary sources as well. In his chapter on “The Identification of



Kauśāmbī,” pp. 83-99, he gives a fairly full and discriminating account of relevant discussion by Cunningham, Vincent Smith and Watters. But the evaluation of the various data leave much to be desired. The evidence of Kauśāmba-maṇḍala, Pabhosā and Payālasa (p. 99) on the strength of the Kara inscription (1035 A. D.) and the Pabhosā red sandstone (1824-25 A. D.) pp. 94-99, should be compared with earlier description of Kauśāmbī and the latter’s contiguity to Śrāvastī after far more consideration than the author appears to have shown. Kuśāmba, a grandson of Balākāśva and son of Kuśa, is the reputed founder of one well-known town Kauśāmbī, south of Ayodhyā and north-west of modern Allahabad. The Hitopadeśa places it in the Gauḍa country (Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 34, 6; Pāṇini, IV, 2, 68; *Hitopadeśa* in Mitralābha: *Asti Gauḍaviṣaye Kauśāmbī nāma nagarī*. Similarly is the city Śrāvastī described as situated in Gauḍa, while it belongs to Kosala, likewise a part of Oudh (Cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, vol. III, p. 263). In Vol. I, pp. 327-8 of A. S. I., Cunningham wrote—“These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that Gauḍa is only a subdivision of Uttara Kosala, and that the ruins of Śrāvastī have actually been discovered in the district of Gauḍa which is the *Gonda* of the maps.” Neither Cunningham nor the author realises the association between Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī at different epochs. The author exaggerates the importance of the Kara inscription and in accepting Daya Ram Sahni’s claim to have “finally and conclusively established the identity of those remains with Śrāvastī.” (J. R. A. S.



1927). The Kara inscription is dated A. D. 1036, and it is on a piece of stone and stones have been known to travel. Rests the similarity of name with Kosam. The two Sahet Mahet inscriptions identifying Śrāvastī are slightly more cogent. But none of these can be regarded as finally conclusive by those familiar with the vicissitudes of place-names in inscriptions and accounts in Hiuen Tsang. Two instances from Bihar and Orissa are typical. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, p. 461 identified Buddhavana with Budhain, but he himself indicated in his "Map of Magadha showing the Routes of Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang (A. S. R., 1871-72, vol. III, p. 139. 1873) Budhain is several miles east or north-east, i.e., on the wrong side of Jethian, and he made no attempt to explain this discrepancy. Jackson corrected this fallacy and identified Buddhavana with the Hanria Hill in J. B. O. R. S. (vol. III, Part III, 1917, pp. 293-316). The itinerary of *Goradhagiri* from Khāravēla's inscription at Khaṇḍagiri to its replica on the Barabar Hills is well-known through the writings of Jackson, Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji (Jackson, J. B. O. R. S., vol. I, Part II, 1915, pp. 159-171). Thus while the identification of Śrāvastī with Sahet Mahet, and of Kauśāmbī with Kosam may be accepted as good working hypotheses, it would be unwise to refuse further enlightenment or to minimise existing difficulties, specially in view of the fact that excavation may reveal strata yet untouched by the surface exploration. Moreover this uncertainty of identification need in no way interfere with the actual work of



collecting and piecing together the finds which are of undoubted value.

It would be highly interesting to have a detailed account of the archæological finds, specially illustrating the terra-cottas and coins. The author mentions a few in pp. 102-114, but even these supply food for prolonged reflexion. One wonders how Cunningham's intuition regarding coins amounted to real genius. Jayaswal triumphantly vindicated this (and incidentally some of his own) in his lecture on 'Pre-Mauryan Coins' before the R. A. S. in London.

Professor Ghosh has produced a readable book. It is to be hoped that he will make it more useful by supplying fuller information reproducing more of the recent finds.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI





1. The Uṇādisūtras with the Vṛtti of Śvetavana-  
vāsin. Edited by T. R. Chintamani, M. A. Madras  
University Sanskrit Series No. 7, Pt. 1. Madras, 1933.  
10" × 6½". Pp. xiv, 236, 46. Price Rs. 3/.

2. The Uṇādisūtras with the Prakriyāsarvasva of  
Nārāyaṇa. Edited by the same. M. U. S. Series No.  
7, pt. 2. Madras, 1933. 10" × 6½". Pp. xii, 149,  
63. Price Rs. 2/8/0.

3. The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of  
Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa and The Uṇādisūtras of the  
Kātantra School with the Vṛtti of Durgasimha. Edi-  
ted by the same. M. U. S. Series No. 7, pt. 6.  
Madras, 1934. 10" × 6½". Pp. xiv, 107, 51, 72,  
24. Price Rs. 3/.

The Madras University and the editor may be  
congratulated for having undertaken the publication  
of the Uṇādisūtras in various recensions and already  
published the above three nicely got up volumes, each  
furnished with indexes of Sūtras and words and the  
first two also with those of authorities and quotations.  
The importance of the Uṇādisūtras as an authorita-  
tive guide to the position of the accent and the  
right sequence of sounds in a large number of nominal  
stems cannot be exaggerated; one cannot, however,  
say as much of their etymological contribution, which  
not infrequently consists in an arbitrary analysis into a  
verbal root and a suffix, all other phonetic require-



ments being supplied by *nipātana*<sup>1</sup>. All this has been recognised by the commentators<sup>2</sup>. There appears to be a general agreement, also in holding the Unādi-derivatives as nouns (*saṃjñā-śabda*), which, coupled with a view implicitly held by some that all of them are current in non-Vedic Sanskrit, has misled many commentators into attributing mostly fanciful meanings to purely Vedic words. That this view cannot be altogether correct is, however, clear from II. 82<sup>3</sup>, *dhṛser dhiḥ cha saṃjñāyām*, whereupon Ujjvaladatta remarks, *saṃjñādhikāre punaḥ saṃjñāgrahaṇam prāyeṇonā-dīnām yaugikatvasūchanārtham*, and from the large number of Vedic derivatives which are very often found to be *yaugika* in sense.

Almost every school of Sanskrit grammar has its own Unādisūtras<sup>4</sup>, but the most important are those of the Paṇinīyan school, since the others are mostly based on these and almost universally ignore the accent. The authorship and the date of composition of these Sūtras, the earliest that we possess, are obscure. We know that they are very old, since they have been frequently quoted in the Kāśikā and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pāṇ. 3.3.1, उणादयो बहुलम् and the Vārttika on it, बाहुल्यं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् । कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Śveta. I. 1, उणादिप्रत्ययान्ताः संज्ञाशब्दाः । तेन तेषामत्र स्वरूपसंवेदनस्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीमात्रफलमन्वाख्यानम्, and Nārā. I. 1. vs. 1-4, 3. vs. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> The references in this article are to Ujjvala's text, except when some other commentary is being considered.

<sup>4</sup> Besides those that are being reviewed here, there are Unādisūtras attached to the Saṃkṣiptasāra, the Supadma and to the grammars of Chandra, Śākatāyana, Vāmana (cf. Winternitz, III, 403, fn.4) and Hemachandra.



were presumably known even to Kātyāyana and Patañjali,<sup>1</sup> and we also know that they are later than Pāṇini's grammar, since not only have they quietly adopted throughout the *pratyāhāras*, the *saṃjñās*, the *paribhāṣās*, and the *anubandhas* of the latter, but there are a few of them which appear to have been necessitated to record exceptions to the corresponding Sūtras in that grammar<sup>2</sup>. More than this we do not know. That some have fathered them upon Śākaṭāyana<sup>3</sup> and others upon Vararuchi<sup>4</sup>, *alias* Kātyāyana, appear to be nothing more than guesses, the former based on the statement of Yāska, Nir, I. 12<sup>5</sup>, and on a Kārikā<sup>6</sup> to Pāṇ. 3.3.1 that it was Śākaṭāyana, amongst the grammarians, who held that all nouns are derived from verbs, and the latter on the assertion of Durgasiṃha that it was Kātyāyana who composed the Kṛt-sūtras, Sarvavarman having held that the derivatives were *rūḍha* like the word *vrkṣa*<sup>7</sup>. Much more plausible is Goldstücker's conclusion that the Unādi list<sup>8</sup> 'must be of

<sup>1</sup> See Goldstücker, Pāṇini: His place in Sanskrit literature, p. 131ff; especially the footnotes to pp. 132-135.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. II. 65, च्विरव्ययम् : Pā. 1.1.39, कृन्मेजन्तः and IV. 226, गतिकारकयोः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् : Pā 6.2.139, गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. Nāgeśa.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Vimala Sarasvatī.

<sup>5</sup> तत्र नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानाञ्चैके ।

<sup>6</sup> नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् । यन्न पदार्थ-विशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूह्यम् ॥

<sup>7</sup> वृक्षादिवदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कृतः । कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धिप्रतिबुद्धये ॥—Durgasiṃha at the beginning of the Kṛdvṛtti.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 139. By the Unādi list he could have only



*Pāṇini's own authorship*; but, even as it is, it does not carry conviction. His main argument in favour of this view is that without such an assumption Kātyāyana's 'strictures' upon some of Pāṇini's rules<sup>1</sup>—esp. those upon the so-called inconsistencies of his *anubandhas*—become no better than a madman's raving. Evidently, he did not notice that Kātyāyana, Patañjali or Kaiyaṭa did not consider *pha*, *dha*, *kha*, *chha*, *gha* in sū. 7. 1. 2., *ṭha* in 7. 3. 50, or *la* in 3.4.77 as *anubandhas* or *its*<sup>2</sup>, but *sthānins* and that, this being the case and there being no qualifying words in the Sūtras, Kātyāyana was merely testing if, within a grammatical context, they were universally applicable. Had this not been the case we should have hardly found such expressions in the Vārttika and the Mahābhāṣya as *ṭhādeṣe varṇagrabhaṇam ched dhātvantasya pratiśedho vaktavyaḥ : paṭhati, paṭhitum* on 7.3.50 (*ṭhasyekaḥ*),

meant the essentials of the present Unādisūtras, for a mere list of suffixes without reference to the respective roots and the various phonetic operations has hardly any meaning. A modification of this view is that of Pathak (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute vols. IV, pp. 111-136 and XI, pp. 90-93) who holds that Pāṇini is the author of the present treatise. Mangala Deva Shastri (Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference vol. II, p. 466ff.) would have it that it is earlier than Pāṇini. The same remarks would apply to these two views as well.

<sup>1</sup> Most of these rules, with Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's remarks, have been quoted by Goldstücker, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pā. 1.3.3, 7, 8 and Patañjali on 1.3.3, एतच्चात्र युक्तं यदित्कार्याभावादित्संज्ञा न स्यात् । यत्रेतकार्यं भविष्यति तत्रेत्संज्ञा and on 3.4.77, with reference to ल, इत्कार्याभावादत्रेत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति, upon which Kaiyaṭa has तस्यां च सत्यां लोपे च कृते स्थान्यभावादल्विधित्वाच्च स्थानिवद्भावाभावादादेशो न भविष्यतीत्यर्थः । Kaiyaṭa also has on 7.1.2, ये त्वनुणादयः खल्घजादयस्तेषु खघयोरित्संज्ञया भाव्यम् । 'खित्य-नव्ययस्य' 'चजोः कु घिण्यतो' रिति लिगात्.



or *lādeśe sarvaprasaṅgo'viśeṣāt*..... *asyāpi prāpnoti : lunāti, labhate* on 3.4.77 (*lasya*). Besides, we should not also forget that Kātyāyana himself has said, *prātipadikavijñānāch cha pāṇineḥ siddham*, on 7.1.2, which Goldstücker has quoted in footnote 209, but evidently overlooked in course of discussion. There is, however, no doubt that an analysis into roots and suffixes, essentially the same as that in the present treatise, had already been done for most of the words before Pāṇini's time and that Pāṇini was so far conversant with it as to feel the necessity to frame a few rules especially covering such cases<sup>1</sup>. Thus we may not be far from the truth, if we hold that the present Unādisūtras are an adaptation of this analysis to Pāṇini's system by some grammarian who came after Pāṇini but before Kātyāyana and Patañjali, if the *aunādika* derivations mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya are considered sufficient, as they do appear to be, to indicate his priority<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., besides उणादयो बहुलम् 3.3.1 and ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः 3.4.75, थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् 6.2.144, न्यङ्क्वादीनाञ्च 7.3.53 and ति-तु-त्र-त-थ-सि-सु-सर-क-सेषु च 7.2.9 along with the Kāśikāvṛtti.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mahābhāṣya

Unādisūtra

Pratyāharasūtra 7,8. अक्षर- III. 70, अशेः सरन्.

=अश् + सरन्.

1.1.4 जीर- in जीरदानु- (which appears also in 6.1.66 as an instance of व् disappearing before र्) = √ ज्या + रक् or √ जीव् + रक्, but the remarks are directed against √ जीव् + रदानु according to Kaiyyāṭa and Nāgeśa.

Our present Un. has no such rule, but cf. Bhoja 81, जीवेर-दानुक्.



These Unādisūtras appear in two different recensions, the Daśapādī and the Pañchapādī. The former has been commented on by Māṇikyadeva and followed by Viṭṭhala in his commentary on the Prakriyā-

1.1.26 लोट-, गर्त- derived with -त (तन् acc. to Kaiyaṭa).

1.1.61 कंस = √कम् + स, along with 6.1.162 हंस-, वत्स-derived with स and 8.3.59 वर्स-, तर्स- (स supported by Bhaṭtoji in Prandh) also with the same suffix.

परान् शृणातीति परशुः

1.4.3 स्त्रियामाख्यायते स्त्र्याख्यौ । यदि कर्मसाधनः । कृत्स्त्रिया धातु-स्त्रियाश्च न सिध्यति । तन्न्यै लक्ष्म्यै श्रियै भ्रुवै etc., upon which Kaiyaṭa remarks, न हि तयोरीकारोकारौ स्त्रियां विहितौ.

3.4.77 शाला-, माला-, मल्ल- derived with-ल.

4.1.3 स्त्री- = √स्त्यै + ड्रट्. सूतेः सप् प्रसवे पुमान्, upon which Kaiyaṭa has, सू इत्येतस्य धातोः सप्प्रत्ययो (?) भवति सकारस्य पकारो भवतीत्यर्थः । औणादिको मसुन्प्रत्ययः ह्रस्वश्च बाहुलकात् ।

III. 86, हसिमृग्निष्वामिदमिलुपूधू-विभ्यस्तन्.

III. 62 वृत्तुवदिहनिकमिकषिभ्यः सः.

I. 34 आङ्परयोः खनिशभ्यां डिच्च (कुः).

The words are derived in III. 158, III. 160, II. 57 and II. 68 respectively, none of which are *stryadhikāravihita*.

Kaiyaṭa has शाला (मा ?) मलिभ्य औणादिको लन्प्रत्ययः and Śveta. 177 remarks शोममालीभ्यो (शोमामलिभ्यो ?) लः इति कैयटाचार्यः पठति स्म उणादिसूत्रम्, But this Sū. is not found in the present Un.

IV. 165, स्त्यायते ड्रट्.

IV. 177, पाते डुम्सुन्, on which Bhaṭtoji in Praudh. and Jñānendra in Tattvabodhinī, after referring to Mbh. and the readings of Nyāsa and Rakṣita, 'पुनाते म्कुसुन् ह्रस्वश्च', and others, 'पूजो डुमसुन्', remark, 'उपेयप्रतिपत्त्यर्था उपाया अव्यवस्थिता इति तत्त्वम्'.



kaumudī, and the latter by Ujjvaladatta and his numerous predecessors and successors. It is remarkable that, while Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his Prauḍhamanoramā often refers to the Daśapādī, Ujjvala seems to be unaware of its existence. The two recensions differ not only in the order and division of the Sūtras, but sometimes even in the wording of the Text. Bhaṭṭoji, *op. cit.*, has recorded most of these differences.

Amongst the extant Uṇādi-vṛttis on the Pañchapādī the oldest and, in many respects, the best is that of Ujjvaladatta. The peculiar charm of Ujjvala's commentary and its superiority over others mostly consist in the attempt at noticing every peculiarity of a word formed with an Uṇādi-suffix—not only in its own use, but even in that of its secondary derivatives, and in the large number of apt quotations from diverse sources<sup>1</sup> in support of his statements. In this respect

- 6.1.67 दवि-, जागृवि-with-वि. IV. 53, वृद्ध्यां विन् and IV. 54, जृष्टस्तृजागृभ्यः क्विन्, respectively.
- 6.1.123 गो- = √ गम् + डो. II. 67, गमे डो.
- 7.1.2 शङ्ख-, षण्ठ-with-ख and I. 104 and IV. 104 (acc. to the reading of Bhaṭṭoji; Ujj. has -ढ respectively.
- 7.3.50 कण्ठ-, शण्ठ-, पण्ठ-, with I. 105, कण्ठः, II. 104 (acc. to -ठ. Kaiyata, शमे जनिदाच्युस्त्रिति ठः), and II. 105 (acc. to Kaiyata, पणोऽन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते इति ठः).
- 7.3.59 अर्क- = √ अर्च् + क } III. 40, कृदाधारार्चिकलिभ्यः कः .
- 7.4.13 राका-, धाका-, with -क }
- 8.3.59 कृसर-, धूसर- with -सरक्. III. 73, कृधूमदिभ्यः कित् (सरन्).

<sup>1</sup> The number of the authorities quoted by him is more than 150 and they range over almost all the branches of Sanskrit literature.



it bears comparison with the great Mādhvīya-dhātuvṛtti of Sāyaṇa. Of the many commentaries<sup>1</sup> previous to his, he names six, *viz.* the Prāchinavṛtti, the Satī-vṛtti, and the Vṛttis of Govardhana, Puruṣottama-deva or Deva, Kṣapaṇaka, and Nagna, of which the last two, as suggested by the meanings of the words, may be identical. His only weak point appears to have been his obviously imperfect acquaintance with the Vedic language, and herein he has been excelled by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, whose Praudhamanoramā on the Uṇādi portion of the Siddhāntakaumudī is a masterpiece of critical interpretation of the Sūtras. Bhaṭṭoji is largely indebted to Ujjvala for the non-Vedic materials of his commentary, but his strongest point is his uncommon mastery of the Vedic language, along with that of the Pāṇiniyan literature as a whole, with the help of which he not only criticises and corrects his predecessors, but also restores in many cases the correct text of the Sūtras,—a feature rarely met with in the other Vṛttis, two of which we shall examine here.

The Uṇādi Sūtras and Vṛttis of the other schools are mostly concerned with the derivations and meanings of the words, and are often insipid and of a doubtful authority, for want of support with literary quotations. Two of these, *viz.* those attached respectively to the schools of Bhoja and Śarvavarman, we shall review here.

With these remarks on the Uṇādi literature in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. उणादिवृत्तयोऽनेका भूरिभिः सूरिभिः कृताः । तास्विदानीं विपर्यस्ताः सूत्रशब्दार्थधातवः ॥ ता एवाथ समालोच्य ग्रन्थानन्यांश्च विस्तरात् । सर्वतः सारमाकृष्य मया वृत्ति विरच्यते ॥ Intro. vs. 4-5.



general, let us now proceed to examine the above publications.

*Svetavanavāsin's Uṇādivṛtti*

The editor states in his Introduction, p. ix, that, according to Svetavanavāsin, Śākaṭāyana is the author of the Pāṇiniyan Uṇādi-sūtras<sup>1</sup>, which is hardly correct, since there is such a word as *ādi* after Śākaṭāyana in the text, *yeyam śākaṭāyanādibhiḥ pañchapādī virachitā* etc., quoted by him. Svetavanavāsin's Vṛtti is far less elaborate and appears to be far less reliable (at least the present edition) than Ujjvala's work. His knowledge of the Vedic language must have been poor : sū. 362 he reads (in common with Ujjvala) *dadhiṣāyyaḥ*<sup>2</sup> (= *dadhi* + √ *so* + *āyya*), which is only a mistake for Ved. *didhiṣāyya*-and 364 as *stuvāḥ kṣeyyaś chbandasi*, giving as example, *staukṣeyya*-, which is non-existent and a mistake for Ved. *stusēyya*; cf. Sk. and Praudh.<sup>3</sup> for both the cases; in 301-302 he reads *-knu*, instead of *-ktnu*, as the suffix and derives *kṛnu*-, *ḥanu*- and *jiganu*<sup>4</sup>, which are really mistakes for Ved. *kṛtnū*-, *batnū*-, and *jigatnu*-, cf. Sk. and the remarks in Praudh. directed against the Daśapādīvṛtti; in 345 he reads *-kāku* for *-kāru* as the suffix, which leads to the absurd example *prdāru* = *vrśchika*- or *sarpa*- in 347, the real Ved. word being *prdāku*-, found in the other

<sup>1</sup> This inaccurate statement has already been repeated by Pathak and Chitrao (Word-Index to Pāṇini Sūtrapāṭha and Pariśiṣṭas, Introduction, p. V): श्वेतवनवासिना च स्वकृतटीकायां तथैव (i.e. शाकटायनप्रणीतानीति) निरदेशि !

<sup>2</sup> Saṁkṣiptasāra, Kṛchchheṣaṇādīpāda 671, has *didhi*+√ *so* + *āyya*. The references are to the edition of Śyāmācharana Kaviratna, Calcutta, San. 1308.

<sup>3</sup> Sk.=Siddhāntakaumudī and Praudh.=Praudhamanoramā.

<sup>4</sup> Bhoja, too, has *kṛnu* and *jiganu*- in 2.1.74 and 2.1.76.



Vṛttis; in 348 he reads *-agnuch* for *-aknuch* and gives, as example, *vajagnu-* for *vachaknu-*, cf. Praudh. and the name *Gārgī Vāchaknavī* in Br. Ār. Up.; sū. 630, showing the formation of Ved. *réknas-* is also faulty and should read, *richer dhane ghich cha*, as in Sk., cf. Bhaṭṭoji's remarks in Praudh., this reading being suggested also by *kittvāt kutvam* (undoubtedly for *ghittvāt kutvam*) in the Vṛtti, which appears to have escaped the notice of the editor.

Even in the meanings of the later Sanskrit words Śvetavanavāsin is often not very accurate : cf., for instance, (sū. 14) *kanduh* = *pākasthānam* (also Nārāyaṇa and Saṁkṣiptasāra, Kṛchcheṣoṇādipāda 543); (36) *gaḍuh* = *vadanaikadeśaḥ*; (127) *yakṣmaḥ* = *mukharogaḥ*; (146) *plihā* = *vyādhiviśeṣaḥ*; (153) *nirrtbaḥ* = *paśūnām saṅghātaḥ*; (264) *dhanuḥ* = *śaraḥ*; (277) *vasnam* = *dravyam*; (343) *tasaraḥ* = *tantuvāyaḥ*; (345) *bhayānakaḥ* = *bhīruḥ* (cf. Saṁkṣiptasāra, l.c. 600, *bhīruko bhayānakaḥ kātaraś cha*); (723) *ūrṇā* = *chhāgaloma*, etc. Certain words, too, in his own sentences appear with wrong genders, but for this probably the editor is, at least partly, responsible : cf., for instance, (150) *arttha-* n., (152) *auṣadha-* m., (158) *prṣṭha-* m., (274) *phena-* n., (353) *anta-* n., (389) *ādeśa-* n., etc.

Moreover, in some instances the editor's preference of certain texts over others found in his own mss. is highly questionable. In sū. 87 he reads *-duk* and *tardūḥ*, while his own ms. B has *-duke* and *tardūḥ* in agreement with all the other known Uṇādi-vṛttis. He reads sū. 93 *garmuṭ cha* against A. *gro much cha* and B. *gro muṭ* and gives the example, *garmuṭ*, against A. *garmut*. Now, this is not only against all the Uṇādi-



vṛttis and the Vedic records of the word *garmut-* > *gārmutá-* it is also against the text of the Vṛtti adopted by himself which has *mudāgamah*, not *mudādeśah*. In 110 he adopts the example *chāṇḍāla-* against *chaṇḍāla-* of A. and C., but cf. Bhaṭṭoji's remarks in Praudh. against the possibility of such a form here. In 159 he prefers *sedhra-* to *sidhra-* of B., which is not only read by Ujvala and others, but required by the *anubandha* *ke* of the suffix. He reads *vīyu-* in 344 against *pīyu-* of B., which agrees with all the other Vṛttis, and gives, as example, *viyālah vrkṣaviśeṣah* (cf. Bhoja 2.3. 101, *viyālah chārah*), for which every other Vṛtti reads *piyāla-*, the well-known tree. In 357 he has the absurd *dūtah preṣakah* (!) against *preṣakarah* of B.

Besides those mentioned by the editor, two other printing mistakes may be noted—sū. 536, *prājāpatiḥ* for *pra-* and p. 193 below, *urah vrkṣah* for *vakṣah*.

### *Nārāyaṇa's Uṇādivṛtti*

The Uṇādivṛtti of Nārāyaṇa is brief and precise. He tries to justify the etymologies and the rules as far as possible, but that he finds the former unsatisfactory is clear from his remarks<sup>1</sup> under sū. 3. Interesting also are his remarks under sū. 130 about the pronunciation of *padma-* as *patma*<sup>2</sup>, presumably in his own province, inasmuch as this tendency of de-voicing

<sup>1</sup> अस्माद्धातोरियं संज्ञा साध्येति मुनिशासने । किं कुर्मोऽर्थान्वयः कश्चित् लब्धश्चेत् कृतिनो वयम् ॥ etc.

<sup>2</sup> पद्मं हि पद्यतेरुक्तं न पते मधिवादिभिः । स्पष्टो दकारश्चोदीचां तकारो-  
क्तिरतो भ्रमः ॥



is characteristic of south Indian mss. and publications in general. He seems to have been much more conversant with the Vedic language than either Ujjvala or Svetavanavāsin and has accurately interpreted *āyavaḥ* = *martāḥ* (sū. 2), *mahā* = *mahatvam* (150), *darśataḥ* = *darśanīyaḥ* (382), *vidathaḥ* = *yajñāḥ* (388), *jāgrviḥ* = *vinidraḥ* (489), *ūrdaraḥ* = *kusūlaḥ* (727), etc., but has apparently been misled by his predecessors in the meanings of *apvā* = *devayūtham* and *amīvā* = *jalam* (143) and *niṣaṅgathiḥ* = *dhanurdharaḥ* (526), and in the retention of sū. 370 *dadhiṣāyyaḥ* without any remark.

Nārāyaṇa does not appear to have seen Ujjvala's *Vṛtti*, but must have been highly influenced by Svetavanavāsin. All the references to *vṛtti* or *kāchid unādivṛtti* are traceable to the latter, with whom he has also shared in the defective texts and interpretations in a few instances. Sū. 684 he reads, with Sveta., *pāter datih* (Ujjvala and Bhaṭṭoji : *pāter atih*) and remarks, *idaṁ prāgukter heyam*, and gives, as example to the next rule (*vāter nit*), *vatir vāyuḥ*, which appears to be non-existent<sup>1</sup>. Ujjvala and Bhaṭṭoji have *vātir vāyuḥ* and quote Rabhasa in support. With Sveta., too, he explains the word *mithuna-* in Sū. 663 as standing for masculine and feminine, although he is not satisfied in his mind.<sup>2</sup> While in Sū. 598 he explains the same word *mithune* as *maithune dyotye* and gives the apparently absurd meaning *maithunechchhāvatī strī* to the word *susarman-*, which he thinks is the aim of the rule. Ujjvala, Viṭṭhala and Bhaṭṭoji all

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Saṁkṣiptasāra, l. c., 712 वापात्योर्दतिः ।

<sup>2</sup> एवं व्याख्या क्वचिद्वृत्तौ यश आद्याश्च पुंस्त्रियोः । न दृष्टा इति भीतिर्नः को वा शब्दान्तमीक्षते ॥



explain *mithuna-* in these two rules as a coupling of *upsarga* and *dhātu*<sup>1</sup>.

The text appears to be carefully edited, but a few anomalies are still noticeable. In sū. 362 the editor adopts *mūrtaḥ* against *muhūrtaḥ* of ms. G, although the text clearly supports the latter and Bhoja, whose view is represented here, also has it. The sū. *lūṣ-śinghi-dhāñbhyas' cha* is incorporated in the Vṛtti to sū. 357 for no apparent reason, while Ujjvala, Bhaṭṭoji, Svetavanavāsin, etc. read it as a separate rule. Sū. 241, *śviter daś cha* (not found also in Sveta.), does not appear to have been intended as a separate Sūtra by the author, but to have been mentioned only as a text found in the Tīkāsarvasva, although not found in his own mss., and this view is supported also by ms. A which omits the Sūtra. *Vatsara-* and *vatsala-* (for *patsara-* and *patsala-*) in 347, *mithin-* (for *mathin-*) in 444, and *mṛdvīketī* (for *mṛdviketi*) in 453, appear to be printing mistakes, as they go against the sense of text and are not supported by any editorial remarks, while *bhojaktaḥ* in 516 and *kvichid* in 607 have clearly to be corrected to *bhojoktaḥ* and *kvachid* respectively. The word *karmanām* in the quotation, *karmanām chinute śubham*, in 590 appears to be a corruption of *karmāṇām*, cf. Ujjvala under the same rule, *karmāṇām kurute śubham* etc. Unfortunately, the Trivandrum edition of the Tīkāsarvasva presents the same text.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Saṁkṣiptasāra, l. c. 739 सोमवृक्षभ्यो मिथुने and its Vṛtti, सुपूर्वं मा सुमामानौ स्त्रीपुरुषौ, एवं सुपूर्ववृज् सुवर्माणौ, तथा शृ हिंसायां सुशर्माणौ.



*The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of  
Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa*

The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja, indicating, as they do, the position of the accent as well with the same *anubandhas* as in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, form a very important treatise indeed, while Daṇḍanātha's commentary is the prototype of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa's Uṇādi-vṛtti in respect of brevity and aptness. Daṇḍanātha appears to have taken a great care for the precision of meanings and is generally far more accurate than most of the other commentators on the Uṇādi, cf., for instance, *grahaṇiḥ agnyādhāraḥ* (sū. 212), *plīhā śarīrāntaravayavaḥ* (278), while others are satisfied with the meaning *vyādhi-viśeṣaḥ* in both the cases; *jīrviḥ vṛddhaḥ*, *jāgrviḥ jāgarūkaḥ* (235), while some have been pleased to treat them as substantives; and so on. Several interesting and rare words also appear in his commentary, e.g., *kalmalīkam jvālaḥ* (369), cf. *kalmalīkīn-* in RV. II. 33.8; *pavīram vijāvapanam* (652), cf. AV. III. 17.3, *lāṅgalam pavīravat*; *khaḍḍuraḥ khuralīsthānam* (661), Cf. J.B.O.R.S., vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 66, where this meaning was guessed for the word in AV. XI. 9(11). 16 from its inferred connection with *khalūrikā-*; *magguśaḥ nakulaḥ* (753), cf. Eng. *mongoose*; *avasam pātheyam* (777), cf. Yāska I. 17, *padvadavasam gāvaḥ pathyadanam*. It is unfortunate that the text of such a valuable work could not be presented in a better form, and the pity is that there should appear a considerable number of such textual errors as could be easily detected with the help of a little critical study. We subjoin a list of those that we have come across and that have not been noticed by the editor.



[Sū. 12] *rābuh saihmikeyah* : for ... *saimbi-*. [36] *vaniṣṭhub ūrvaikadeśah* : for ... *udaraikadeśah*? [48] *nīlaṅguh timiḥ* : for ... *kṛmiḥ*? [63] *pājyartibhyo dit* : for ... *nīt*<sup>1</sup>. [77] *taner duḥ* : for ... *daiḥ*<sup>1</sup>, cf. Pān. Un. *taner daiḥ sanvach cha*. [81] *jīvaradānuḥ* : for *jīradānuḥ*, according to the sense of the Sūtra and the Vṛtti, which must have been misunderstood, and to Vedic usage, cf. also Nārāyaṇa, p. 143, l. 6. [97] *śigruḥ saubhājanakah* : for ... *saubhāñjanakah*. [113] Sū. *dūścha*, Vṛ. *drūś chābhyāgamah*, while Nārāyaṇa on I.86 remarks, *bhojamate tro duk cha*. Thus *duk* appears to be the correct reading, inasmuch as *ū* at the end of the *āgama* is superfluous, the suffix itself being *-ū*. Thus the examples *tadrūḥ*, *dadrūḥ*, appear to be corruptions of *tardūḥ*, *dardūḥ*, it being noted that there is nothing in Sū. or Vṛ. to indicate the disappearance of *r* from the roots<sup>2</sup>. [131] The Vṛtti appears to be a corruption for *tiṣṭhateḥ savya upapade rñpratyayo bhavati dicḥ cha*. [133] *yāteḥ* : for *yateḥ*, otherwise *vṛddhi* is meaningless. Pān. Un. also has this latter reading. [239] Correct the examples to *varṇasiḥ*, *parṇasiḥ* and *sānasiḥ*. The *āgama* is *n*, not *nu*, cf. *nut* and *thut* in Sūtras 335 and 336 respectively. [265] A similar mistake is noticed in the example *garmut*, which should be *garmut* (=  $\sqrt{g\bar{r}} + (m)ut$ ). [292] *umapade*: for *upa-*. [301] *praryanujyate* : for *parya-*. [324] *uṣtam* : for *uṣah*. [337] *pāt baliḥ* : for *pājah balam*. [358] Where is the example

<sup>1</sup> Cf. sū. 127 for the effect of the indicative *d*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the remarks of Ujjvala on I. 92, repeated in Praudha., भोजदेवशब्दानुशासने तु दरिद्रातेर्यालोपश्चेति तिपा निर्देशात् रिश्च आ चेति संहितापाठे र्याशब्दलोपे दद्रूरित्यपि साधितम् । तथा रश्च इश्च आश्चेत्यन्तसदेशद्वितीयरेफलोपेन दद्रूरित्यपि साधितम् ।



for the alternative *numāgama* (viz., *kaṇṭaka-*)? [364] The syllable *ṭaḥ* appears to have been dropped after *viṣakī-*. [368] *śalākā* and *dūṣikā* are out of place amongst regular derivatives with *-kīkan* and should, if their inclusion is right, be *śalīkā* and *dūṣīkā* respectively. [370] *saṁkusukaḥ* : for *saṁkasukaḥ*. [381] *kalaviṅkaḥ* *grhavāṭakaḥ* : for ... *grhachāṭakaḥ*? [395] *iṣeḥ* in Sū. : for *uṣeḥ*, as in Vṛ. [427] *ḍichach* : for *ḍī-*, if the example is right. [449] *sr̥ṅgāṭaḥ* *jalaviśeṣaḥ* : for ... *jalajaviśeṣeḥ*? and *ālikam* : for *alīkam*. [470] *ḍapratyayaḥ* in Vṛ. : for *ḍha-*. [518] °*kukundau* in Vṛ. : for °*kakundau*. [543] *pāmam* : for *pāpam*. [557] *pariva-panam* : for *paripava-* and *nichayam* : for °*yaḥ*. [569] *ambaḥ* : for *āmbaḥ*, see Nārāyaṇa on IV. 103. [578] *valabbīḥ* : for *valabbī* in Vṛ. [588] *kusumbhaḥ* *mahāra-jatam* : for ... *mahārajanam*. [598] *adharmāḥ* : for *adhamāḥ*. [608] *vaserādivatvam* *nuṭ cha* : for ... *tuṭ cha*, as required by the example, *vastyam*. See also Nārāyaṇa on IV. 121. [637] *vindbraṁ* : for *vīdbraṁ*. [645] *kiñji* in Sū. : for *kañji*, cp. example and Nārā. on III. 138. [654] *kimmīraḥ* : for *kirmīraḥ*? [660] *kavūraḥ* *ṣaḍī* : for *karchūraḥ* *ṣaṭī*. [675] Sū. *idāvatsaraḥ*, Vṛ. *idvatsaraḥ* : both wrong for *idāvatsaraḥ*. [700] *bhr̥ṣṭa-* (*bhraṣṭa*, acc. to the corr. of the editor) *tilāsatīchūrṇam* : for *bhr̥ṣṭatīlātasīchūrṇam*? [722] *śṛṇoteḥ* : for *śṛṇāteḥ*. [771] *āṭarūṣaḥ* *pāśaḥ* : for ... *vāsā*, cf. *vāsā āṭarūṣakaḥ* in 772. [793] ex. *dastyūhaḥ* : for *dātyūhaḥ* (= √ *dā* + *tyūha*). Similarly in Nārā., p. 149, l. 1, *datyahaḥ* has to be corrected to *dātyūhaḥ*.

*The Upādisūtras of the Kātantra School  
with Durgasimha's Vṛtti*

These Sūtras and the Vṛtti (based on a single



ms.) are so very badly edited that it would have been much appreciated, had the editor waited for other mss. The disadvantages of having to depend upon a single ms. are, no doubt, many, but still there are many instances of textual errors whose continuance can only be attributed to the editor's insufficient acquaintance with the Kātantra School and failure to exercise his critical judgment sufficiently, as will be clear from the appended notes. The Catalogus Catalogorum records two other mss. of the Sūtras, one of which contains also the Vṛtti of Durgasimha, and it is very likely that more mss. would be available in Bengal, where this school of grammar is still assiduously studied and where most of the best works of this school have been produced. Nor is this the first publication of the Sūtras. Gurunātha Vidyānīdhi of Calcutta, in his edition (in Bengali character) of the Kalāpa with many commentaries, published them as an appendix, some thirty years ago. The text of the Sūtras published by him differs slightly from that in the present edition, while the Vṛtti, the authorship of which is not mentioned there, appears to be a shorter recension of Durga's Vṛtti. The Sūtras are divided into five Pādas, but end with sū. 260 (IV. 66) of the present edition and, indeed, the fresh *maṅgalācharaṇa* at the beginning of the fifth Pāda of the latter would probably indicate a later addition of the rest by a different hand. We shall refer to the Bengali edition with the letter B in the following notes, which may help to improve the text in a later edition.

The editor has invariably spelt the name Durgasimha as Durgasimha (°सिम्ह) in Roman and Durga-



sihma (°सिह्म) in Devanāgar. It is curious how this anomaly could have escaped his notice, considering how many times the name is repeated. [Sū. 17] *dakārānto guṇaś cha* : unintelligible and not found in B; a corruption for *akārānto'guṇaś cha* (which certainly the *pratyaya* is)? [18] *maṅkura-* in Vṛtti : *makura-* in Sū., *mukura-* in B. [19] B has *śāvaśe-* in Sū. and *tālavṛyādirayam* in Vṛ., which agrees with Pān. Un., Mahābhāṣya, and use. [20] *naṭādyarthah* and *naṭāditvāt* in Vṛ. : for *nadā°* as in B, since the *gaṇa* that takes the feminine suffix *ī* is called *nadādi* in Kātantra, cf. sū. 106, below. [34] *kaserūḥ trṇaviśeṣaḥ mūlam* : for ... *trṇaviśeṣamūlam*, as in B. [46] *palala-* in Vṛ. : for *palvala-*, as in Sū. and B. [51] *dhṛñ* in Sū. and *dhṛñ ādhāre* in Vṛ. : for *drñ* and *drñ ādhāre* respectively, as in B; since there is nothing in Sū. or Vṛ. to indicate a change of *dh* to *d*. [53] *patantaḥ* : for *patataḥ*. [55] *śyāmā* : for *śyāmaḥ*. [65] *varṇuḥ nādaviśeṣaḥ* : for ... *nadā°*. [68] *pātha-*, read also in B. : for *pītha-*, cf. Kātantra, Ākhyāta-Vṛ. 152 and Nārāyaṇa and Ujjvala, II. 7. [70] *udapūrvah* : for *utpūrvah*. [71] *prothaḥ aśvaghoṣāntaram* : for ... *aśvaghoṇā°*; B has *aśvanāsā*. [72] *rodatīti* : for *rodi°*. *undrah* : for *udrah*, as in B. [104] (*januḥ*) *jarjāriḥ* : unintelligible, B has *januḥ jananam* instead. [114] *prathiḥ* : for *prahiḥ*, cf. 203. [123] *iṣikā viruṇīśalākā* : for ... *vīraṇa°*, cf. Ujjvala IV, 21, *iṣikā śaraśalākāvīraṇakāṣṭhikā cha*. B has *iseḥ kīkaḥ* as the Sū. and *iṣikā* as the example. [124] *tintīdīkā tilavṛkṣaviśeṣaḥ* : should be simply ... *vṛkṣaviśeṣaḥ*, as in B, which reads *tintīdīkādayaścha*, *-kīka* being considered the suffix. [137] *naṭāditvādiḥ* : for *nadāditvādiḥ*. [138] for *phanasaḥ*, B has the usual form *panasaḥ*. [139] *valabhiḥ. naṭāditvādiḥ*.



for *valabhī. nadāditvādīḥ*. B omits *śali* and *vali* from the Sūtra. [141] *yathāsamikhyam* is out of place. B has *yathāvidhānam* instead. [142] Sū. *grnāmnyupadhāt kviḥ* should be *gṛnāmyupadhāt kiḥ*. B has *gṛ nāmyupadhāchcha kiḥ*. *Nāmin-* is a technical term, *svaro'varṇavarjo nāmī*, Kāt. Sandhi. 7. Similarly in Vṛ. *nāmnyupadhāchcha dhātoḥ kviḥ* should be *nāmyupadhāchcha dhātoḥ kiḥ*, *nāmni upadhā yasya* should be *nāmī* etc. and *gr nigaraṇe* should be *gṛ nigaraṇe*. [146] B has another Sūtra, *sṛṅgāra-bhrṅgāra-kuñjarāḥ*, after this. The explanation of these forms in the Vṛtti without any remark seems to indicate that the Sūtra has been dropped here. *Nvātvāgamo* is unintelligible (corruption for *nvāgamo?*). [149] *striyāmādā* is Kāt., Chatuṣṭaya-Vṛ. 255, and there should be no query mark after it. [151] The Sūtra should be *iśyaśibhyām takāḥ* as in B. [161] *aviḥ* and *tariḥ* : for *aviḥ* and *tariḥ*, respectively, since the suffix is *ī*. [164] B reads *kṛgṛ°* and gives *kṛviḥ*, *gṛviḥ* as examples, which should be *kīrviḥ* and *gīrviḥ* respectively, according to Ākhyātavṛtti 418. *Kurviḥ* and *girviḥ*, found here, are also impossible. Pān. Un. has *kṛviḥ* < √ *kṛ* and *jīrviḥ* < √ *jṛ*, but cf. Mugdhabodha 1132, *kṛgṛjāguḥ kiḥ* (according to the reading of Durgādāsa; Rāmatakavāgīśa has *jṛśṛ°*). [168] (*aratniḥ*) *kaniṣṭhikāṅguliḥ* should be *vistrṭakanīṣṭhikāṅgulir hastāḥ* as in B. [170] *kañichiḥ kalāviśeṣaḥ* should be ... *latāviśeṣaḥ* as in B. Nārāyaṇa, IV. 72, also has *latā*. [172] *duṣe kālīte*: for *duṣeḥ kārīte*, Kāt. Ākhyāta 187. [174] *ṛjīṣam paśuvachanam* seems to be a mistake for...*piṣṭapachanam* found in B and Amara. [182] *bateḥ* in Sū. : for *hanteḥ*, as in B and the Vṛ. [186] *vahatram* : for *vahitram*. [191] Probably before ... *tīti kundāḥ* we have to supply



‘*kūṇa śabde*’ (found in B) *kūṇa*°. [193] *śo nūkarane* : for *śo tanūkarane*. [199] *śarīramadhmam* : for °*madhyam*. [204] *dhṛñ* in Sū. should be *ḍṛṇ* or *ḍṛ* as in B. Compare the Vṛtti and the example. [206] *rē* in Sū. and Vṛ of this as well as the following two Sūtras is a mistake for *vuk* and *rḥ* in 209 for *vuh*, found in B. *Vu* = *aka*, according to Kāt. Kṛt. 484, which has been wrongly quoted in 208 as *yurjbāmanākāntāḥ* for *yuvu*°. [216] With this Sū. ends the fourth Pāda in B. [227] √*vāsi* in the Sū. seems to be out of place, since *vāsara*- cannot be regularly formed with the suffix *-sara*. B has neither the root nor the derivative. [230] *ḍa* : for *ḍraṭ*, and *ḍakāro nadādyarthah* : for *ṭakaro* etc. [252] *gr nigarane* : for *gṛ* etc. [260] Here ends the fifth Pāda in B and along with it the whole work, the total number of Sūtras being 267. [292] *sihma-* : for *simba-*. [297] *sṛṇāteḥ* in Sū. and Vṛ. and *sṛ* in Vṛ. appear to be mistakes for *śṛṇāteḥ* and *śṛ* and therefore also *sūrpah* for *śūrpah*. [308] *tavaṣa uvargāditi utvam* : for *tavargasya ṣaṭavargād* (Kāt. Ākhyāta. 409) *iti ṭatvam*. [310] *muhūrtam dinapañchadaśo’ntah* : for ... *dinapañchadaśāṁśah*. [316] *athavā* ... = *athavā vikalpenantās churādayah* and there should be no query mark. [332] *samūhamanḍalam* : for *samūbah maṇḍalam*. [339] *ḍṛ* : for *ḍṛ*. Read ‘*ṛdantasyer*’ ‘*nāminorvor*’ *iti dīrghah* for *kṛdantasya* “*āraminorvi*” *iti dīrghah*, for Kāt. Ākhyāta. 258 and 418 are being quoted here. [345] Correct *kṛdantasyo* ... etc. to ‘*ṛdantasyer*’ (Ākhyātā. 258) ‘*svarā-dāvivarṇovarnāntasy*’ (Ākhyāta. 178) *etyādinā uv*. [361] *nayanti* should be *na yanti*. ‘*Nasya tatpuruṣe lopyah*’ is a complete Sūtra (Chatuṣṭaya. 280). *Māmātyavivakṣāyām* appears to be a corruption for *sāmānyavivakṣāyām*,



which should go with the next sentence, not the previous one. [388] *asi* in Sū. : for *aśi*. “*Kaṣa saṁyoge*” *kṣaḥ* : for “*kaṣa saṁyoge*” *kakṣaḥ*?

T. Chowdhury





VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE SEXCENTENARY  
ASSOCIATION

*Commemoration Volume Section*

Dharwar

12.6.1936

To  
The Secretary  
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna

Sir,

I have great pleasure in inviting the cooperation and advice of your Institution in the publication of the Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume due to be published under the joint auspices of the Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Celebrations Committee and the Karnatak Historical Research Society in December, 1936.

I have to request you to communicate this request to all members of your Society and we shall deem it a favour if members of your Institution can contribute on some aspect of Vijayanagara History to the Commemoration Volume.

I am herewith appending a note on the probable contents of the Commemoration Volume.

Thanking you in anticipation of an early reply.

I remain

Yours faithfully

(Sd.) D. P. KARMARKAR

*Jt. Secretary*

Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume



N. B.—The reply may please be sent to :—

The Secretary, Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.

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26	Datta, Kalikinkar, M.A.	..	Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.
27	Deo, Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.	1920	The Palace, Sonapur.
28	Deo, Tekait Nripendra Narayan Singh.	1928	Seraikela State, Singhbhum.
29	Deshpande, R. S. G. K.	1927	Bishramdham, Gymkhana P. O. Poona.
30	Dhruva, A. B., M.A. ..	..	Ahmedabad.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	<b>E</b>		
	Nil.		
	<b>F</b>		
31	Fawcus, G.E., M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	1916	Director of Public Instruction, Patna.
	<b>G</b>		
32	Ghosh, Adhar Chandra, B.SC.	1927	Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
33	Ghosh, Rai Sahib Manoranjan, M.A.	1918	Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
34	Gupta, Shiva Prasad	1918	Seva Upavana, Kasi.
	<b>H</b>		
35	Heras, Rev. H. S. J., M.A.	1927	St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
36	Hill, J. L., M.A.	1920	Patna College, Patna.
37	Hubback, the Hon'ble Mr. J. A., C.I.E., I.C.S.	1935	Member, Executive Council, Patna.
	<b>I</b>		
	Nil.		
	<b>J</b>		
38	Jagadeb, Sri Sri Sri Gopinath Harichandan, Raja Bahadur, M.R.A.S., M.B.D.M.	1924	P. O. Tekkali, Ganjam.
39	James, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W., I.C.S.	1923	High Court, Patna.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
40	Jaruhar, Rameshwar Prasad.	1925	Kadamkuna, Patna.
41	Jayaswal, K. P. M.A. Barrister-at-Law.	1915	Advocate, Patna High Court.
42	Jha, Andh Bihari, M.A.	1933	Sub-Deputy Magistrate Dinapore.
43	Jha. Lakshmikant, B.L.	1925	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
44	Jha, Ramakrishna, B.L.	1930	Advocate, High court, Patna.
45	Jinjal, Srinarayan Lal, B.A., B.L.	1928	Dhanni Tola, Advocate, Gaya.
46	Johnson, Joh.	1934	Joema Mission, P. O. Gossaigaon, Assam.
<b>K</b>			
47	Khan Bahadur Syd. Muhammad Ismail.	1928	Patna City.
48	Khanna, Vinayak Lal ..	1924	Hindu Library, 3, Nandalal Malik's Lane, Calcutta.
49	Kimura, R. .. ..	1920	Rissho University, Osaki Machi, Tokyo, Japan.
50	Kuraishi, Muhammad Hamid, B.A.	1923	Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.
<b>L</b>			
51	Lakhani, Ibrahim Wali Mohammad, B.A.	1934	Watson Museum, Rajkot.
52	Lall, Raja, P.C. ..	1924	Raja of Nazarganj, Purnea City.
53	Lambert, H., M.A., I.E.S.	1920	c/o Lloyd's Bank, Cox's & King's Branch, 6 Pall Mall, London, s. w.
54	Law, Dr. Narendra Nath, M.A., B.L., PH.D.	1924	96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	<b>M</b>		
55	Mackenzie, W. ..	1916	Superintendent, Government Printing, Gulzarbagh, Patna.
56	McPherson, Sir H., K.C. I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.)	1915	c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Ltd., 54, Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.
57	Mahapatra, Chaudhuri Bhagvat Prasad Samantri.	1924	P. O. Bhadrak, Balasore.
58	Mahashaya, Rai Bahadur Harendra Narayan Ray.	1915	Lakshannath, Balasore.
59	Mahatha, Rai Bahadur Krishna Deva Narayan.	1920	Muzaffarpur.
60	Majumdar, Bimanbehari	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
61	Majumdar, Dr. R. C. ..	1920	Dacca University, Dacca.
62	Malaviya, Pandit Balagovinda.	1924	Patna City.
63	Manuk, P. C., Bar-at-Law .. .. .	1920	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
64	Mehta, N. C., I.C.S. ..	1927	Muzaffarnagar.
65	Miller, Sir F. Dawson, K.T.	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E. C., London.
66	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
67	Mishra, Ganga Shankar, M.A.	1933	Librarian, Benares Hindu University.
68	Misra, Umesha, D.LITT.		Allahabad University, Allahabad.
69	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L.	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
70	Mukerji, Prof. A. ..	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	<b>N</b>		
71	Nagar, Madan Mohan, M.A.	1933	Curator, Sarnath Museum, Benares.
72	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A. B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Street, Calcutta.
73	Noor, Hon'ble Justice K. B. Khawaja Muhammad.	1915	Patna.
	<b>O</b>		
	Nil.		
	<b>P</b>		
74	Pantulu Garu Srinivas RAO M.A., L.T., M.R.R.Y.	1928	Principal Hindu College, Masulipatam.
75	Perier, Most Rev. F.J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta
76	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A.,	1928	Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
77	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
78	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. ...	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
79	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Advocate, Patna.
80	Prasad, Surya Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	<b>Q</b>		
	Nil.		
	<b>R</b>		
81	Rajaguru, Hemraj Pandit.	1934	Dhokatola, Kathmandu, Nepal.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
82	Ramdas, G., B.A. ..	1924	Sri Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
83	Ranganathan, S. R. ..	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
84	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Diwan, Bonaigarh State, Bonaigarh P. O., Orissa.
85	Richards, F. J. ..	1924	1A Collingham Road, S. W. 5, London.
86	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
87	Roy, Rai Bahadur s.c. M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
<b>S</b>			
88	Sahay, S. N. .. ..	1935	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
89	Sarkar Ganapati ..	1926	69, Beliaghata Road, Calcutta.
90	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.
91	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C.	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
92	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Patna.
93	Seppings, E. H. L. ..	1916	Innes Road, P. O. Kemmendine, Rangoon.
94	Sham Bahadur ..	1928	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
95	Sharma, Ram Bahadur, M.A.	1934	Advocate, Patna.
96	Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A.	1932	D.A.V. College, Lahore.
97	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., PH.D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
98	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Principal, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
99	Shastri I. D. Daurgadatti	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.



## Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
100	Shaw, Parmanand ..	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
101	Singh, Jaikishore Narayan	1934	Pakri State, P. O. Bajpatti, Muzaffarpur.
102	Singh, Lakhsminarayan.	1933	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
103	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Monghyr.
104	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
105	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
106	Singh, Raja Rajendralala, Bariha.	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.
107	Singh R. B. Ramranavijaya	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.
108	Singh, Sarangadhar M.A., B.L.	1925	Ditto
109	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.
110	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B.	1930	Hindustan Times, Delhi.
111	Sinha, S., Bar-at-Law	1915	Patna.
112	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
113	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
<b>T</b>			
114	Tandan, R. R., M.A.	1934	Muzaffarpur.
115	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ..	1915	Bishop's House, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
116	Taraporewaala, Y. J. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.



## Ordinary Members—(Concluded)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
117	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, KT.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
118	Tirtha Swami, Vedananda	1933	P. O. Dhinga, Dist. Gujarat, Punjab.
119	Tripathi, Devadatta ..	1916	Kadam Kuan, Patuli.
120	Tripathi, Ramshankar, M.A., PH.D.	1932	Benares Hindu University.
U			
121	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A.	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore, C. I.
122	Urqhart, Rev. Dr. W. S., M.A., D.D., D.LITT. 1934 Principal, Scottish churches College, Calcutta.	1934	Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.
V			
123	Varma, Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. P.	1930	Patna.
124	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra.	1929	Daraganj, Allahabad.
125	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D. ..	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.



CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NEPAL  
600 B.C. TO 880 A.D.

*By* K. P. JAYASWAL





## A

### Lichchhavis and Thakuris

[350 A.D. to 880 A.D.]

- §I. THE DATE AND ERA OF AMSUVARMAN.  
*The Initial Year of the Era of Amśuvarman.*  
*The chronology of the rule of Amśuvarman and*  
*Dynastic Revolution on his death.*  
*A Tibetan Era in Nepal?*
- §II. CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF AMSUVARMAN
- §III. CONFUSION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER  
OF VAMSAVALIS EXPLAINED.
- §IV. MANADEVA I.
- §V. LICHCHHAVI KINGS.
- §VI. DATA OF THE MANJUSRI HISTORY ON  
NEPAL.
- §VII. THE GUPTA DYNASTIES OF NEPAL.
- §VIII. COINAGE.  
*Coins of Nepal Guptas.*  
*Chinese History of Nepal Coinage.*
- §IX. DYNASTIC REVOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF  
AMSUVARMAN.  
*The Line of Udayadeva.*
- §X. ARCHITECTURE, EPIGRAPHY, AND CONSTI-  
TUTION.  
*Chinese Account of Nepal, 643-651 A. D.*  
*Architecture and Temples of Nepal in 657*  
A. D.



*Epigraphy of Nepal of the 7th and 8th centuries.*

*Origin of Dual Sovereignty in Nepal.*

§XI. THAKURIS AFTER JAYADEVA II.

*Defeat of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya (782-813 A.D.) of Kashmir by Nepal.*

§XII. PALA CONNECTION WITH NEPAL.

*Nepal's later Coinage.*

## B

### Early Dynasties of Nepal

§XIII. NIMISH DYNASTY [205 A. D. TO 350 A. D.]

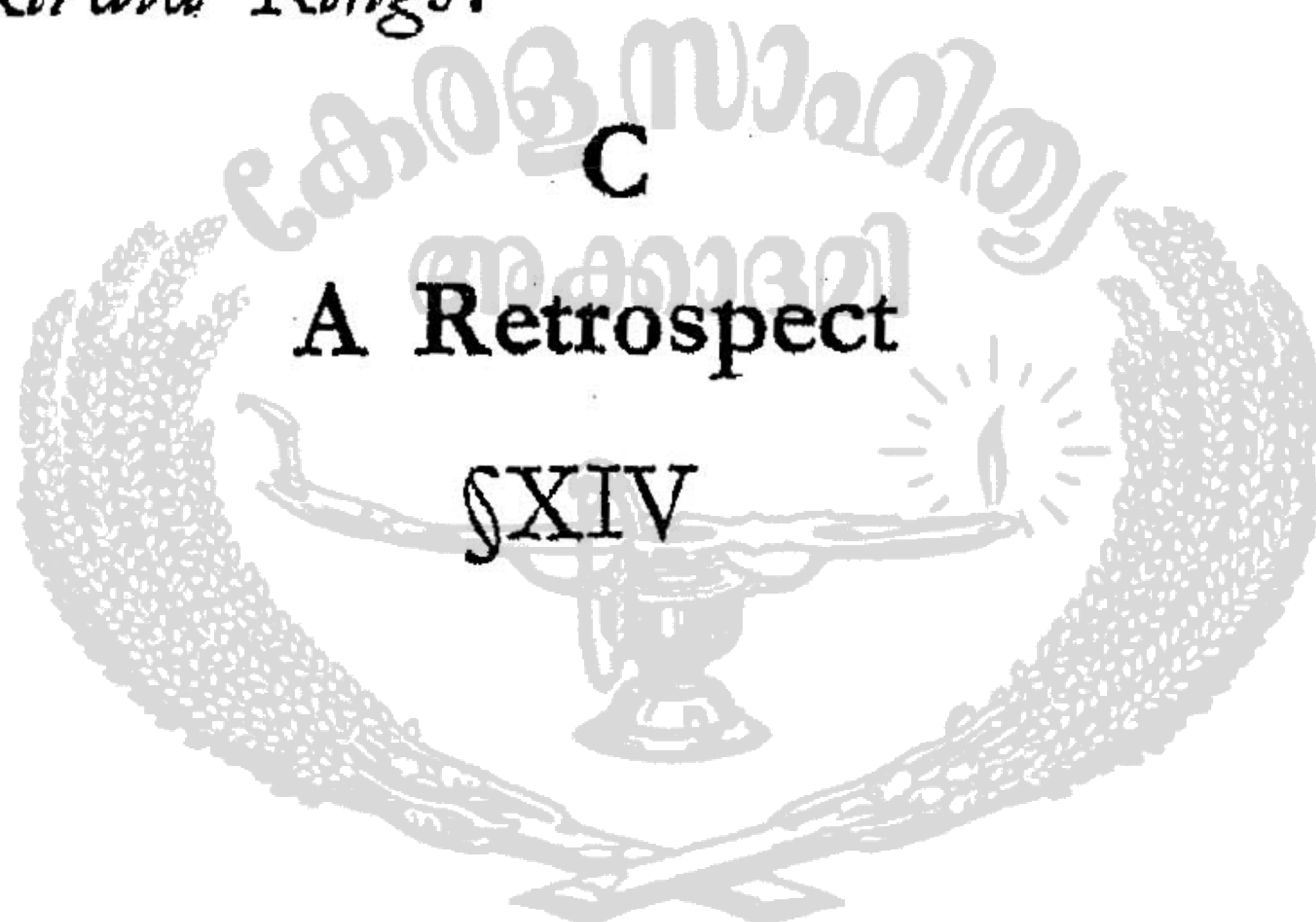
KIRATA DYNASTY [590 B. C. TO 110 A. D.]

*Kirāta Kings.*

## C

### A Retrospect

§XIV





# JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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VOL. XXII ]

1936

[ PART III

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## Leading Articles

### CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NEPAL

[600 B.C.—880 A.D.]

By K.P. JAYASWAL

A

### LICHCHHAVIS AND THAKURIS

350 A.D. TO 880 A.D.

#### I.—THE DATE AND ERA OF AMSUVARMAN

In the Nepal chronology the date of A m ś u v a r m a n is a pivot, like the date of Chandragupta Maurya, to move up and to move down for several centuries. Amśuvarman's date is therefore an important matter.

His date as 635-650 A.D. was postulated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji on the basis of the Harsha Era, that is, taking the dates in his inscriptions to



be in the Harsha Era; and his view was accepted by Dr. Fleet and has been followed subsequently by Indian writers. That view needs reconsideration.

On the date of this king we have the following materials. From Tibetan sources we know that the Tibetan emperor S t r o n g-s t a n-G a m p o whose rule is dated at 629 A. D.<sup>1</sup> (V. Smith, *EH.*, 373, 376 *n.*), married A m ś u v a r m a n's daughter between 628 and 641.<sup>2</sup> From the account of Y u a n C h w a n g, who began his travels in India in 629 and reached China in 645 (V. Smith, 373, 365), we gather that A m ś u v a r m a n, a reputed author, had passed away before the Chinese pilgrim left India, that he was '*a recent king*',<sup>3</sup> that is, he had died not long ago. His time is thus fixed as a little before 644 or 645, from the Tibetan and Chinese sources.

Now according to Nepal inscriptions, he was alive in certain years of an unnamed era, in years 34, 39, and 44 noted in the records of his reign (Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, pp. 178-180), and he

<sup>1</sup> According to Chinese History he died in 650 A. D. (JRAS, 1880, 438), and according to Tibetan, in 698 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> According to Waddell and Sarat Chandra Das in 641, and according to de Milloué, between 628 and 631 (V. Smith, p. 376 *n.*). The name of the Nepal king, the father of the Princess, is *go-cha* in Tibetan which has been translated as *Prabhā-varman* (JASB, LIX. 54), and *Jyoti-varman* (Sarat Ch. Das, JASB, L. 200). The reference does not necessarily prove that the marriage took place in the lifetime of Amśuvarman.

<sup>3</sup> Beal and Watters, ii, 84, leave no room for doubt on the Chinese text. Bhagwanlal Indraji tried to doubt the translation (*JA.*, XIII. 419), and Fleet totally ignored the evidence of Yuan Chwang. The opinion of the Sinologues is unanimous on the passage that Amśuvarman is recorded as a past king by Yuan Chwang (*JA.*, 1894, 58).



must have died in or before the year 48 (Fleet, p. 180) in which year the record of his successor J i s h ṇ u - G u p t a is dated and wherein A ṁ ś u v a r m a n is mentioned as a past sovereign. In any case, A ṁ ś u - v a r m a n's rule, therefore, could not have lasted after the 48th year of this era; and as he died before 645 (Yuan Chwang) the era could not begin after (645-48) 597 A. D. There is, however, yet another reference to A ṁ ś u v a r m a n in the Nepal inscriptions. It is an inscription of Ś i v a d e v a I, the Lichchhavi king, whose feudatory A ṁ ś u v a r m a n had been and who mentions him in an inscription dated in the year 316 of an unnamed era (Fleet, 177-78). This era was taken by Fleet to be the Gupta Era, and it is not possible to take it otherwise owing to the known date of A ṁ ś u v a r m a n from the external sources discussed above. This era beginning as it did 316 years before the time of A ṁ ś u v a r m a n (c. 640) must begin in the first quarter of the 4th century and the only known era which falls to commence about that time is the Gupta Era beginning in 319-320 A. D. The inscription of S a m u d r a G u p t a proves the subordination of Nepal to him. There seems to be no room for any doubt that Nepal adopted the Imperial Gupta Era. In the year 316 (635 A. D., 3rd May) A ṁ ś u v a r m a n according to the inscription is feudatory and adviser (though dominant adviser) of Ś i v a d e v a I. The form "*Mahāsāmanta-Amśuvarmmaṇā vijñāpitena mayā*"—proves conclusively the subordinate position of A ṁ ś u v a r m a n. In his own inscriptions up to the



year 34, Amśuvarman calls himself *Mahāsāmanta*, 'High Feudatory'; and in the year 39 he drops that title and adopts 'Śrī', 'His Majesty.' Amśuvarman to start as king would therefore be dated in or about 635 A. D., not much before, and his reign [as king] will fall between 635 and 645 A. D. (Yuan Chwang)—a period roughly of 10 years at the highest. It follows, then, that his own inscription of the year 39 would be about 635 A. D., that the years 35 to 44 or 45 while Amśuvarman was alive would cover his whole reign of 10 years. His reign [as king] is thus to be dated between about 635 A. D. and 645 A. D. And the era of these lower figure years must begin in or before 600 A. D. and not after. It, therefore, cannot be the Harsha Era which began in 606-607 A. D.

#### *The Initial Year of the Era of Amśuvarman*

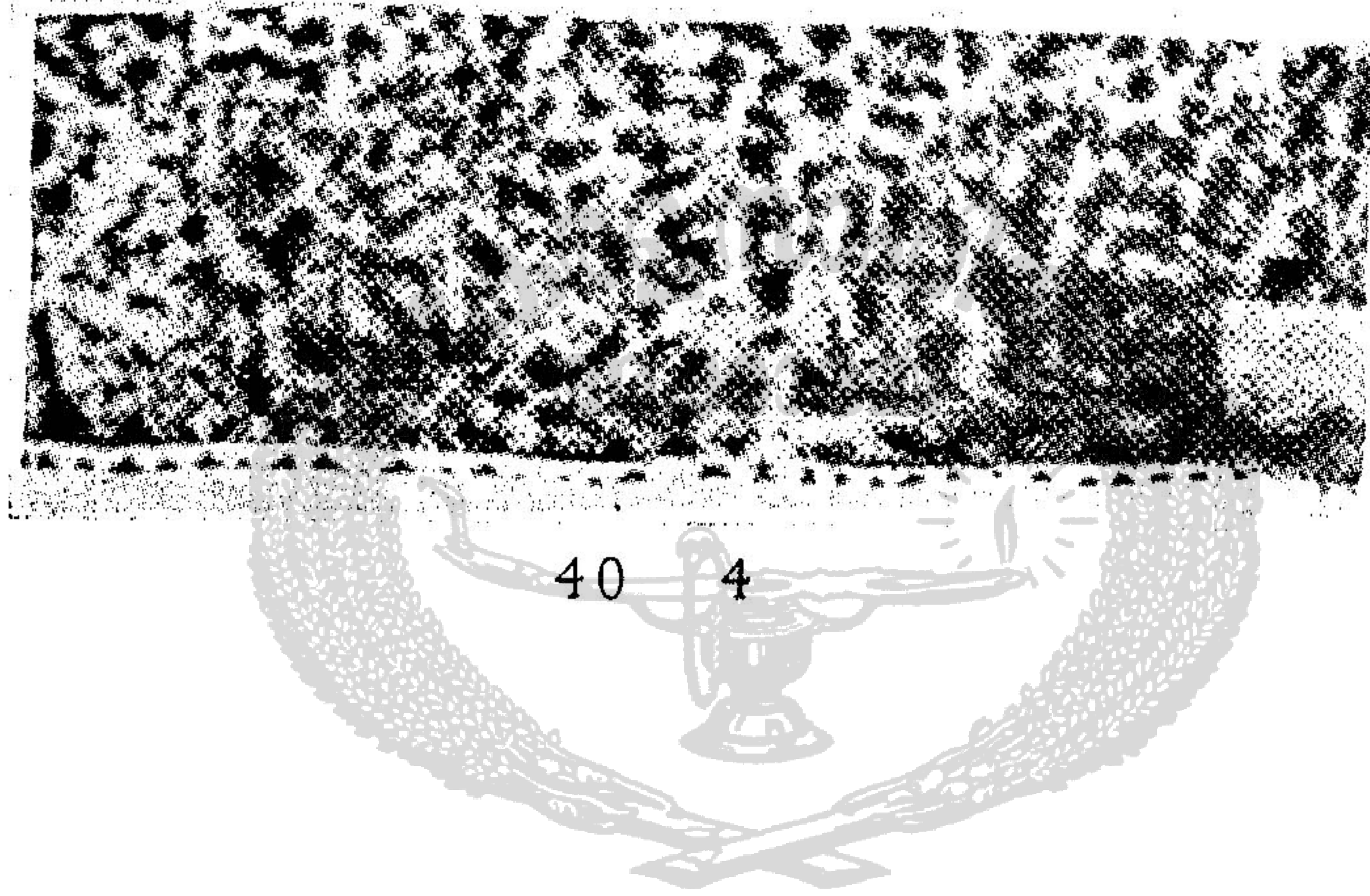
There is a definite piece of information in Chinese History of the T'ang Dynasty (chapter 221)<sup>1</sup> giving details of Nepal History from contemporary writings which proves that Amśuvarman was dead before the year 643 A. D. In the period 642-647 A. D. when the Imperial Envoy from China—Li Y-piao—was on his way to the court of Harshavar-dhana, he found on the throne of Nepal 'the king Narendradeva [Na-ling-ti-po].' The father of this king whose name we know from inscriptions to be Udayadeva, eldest son (*Yuvarāja*) of Amśuvarman,<sup>2</sup> had been deposed by Naren-

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, *JA.*, 1894, 60, 67; *JA.*, 1900, 304.

<sup>2</sup> *IA.*, IX. 170, insc. of the year 39.



Beginning of line 30 of Thankot Inscription of  
Mānadeva and Jishṇu Gupta.





dra deva's uncle, younger brother of his father. Narendradeva was restored to throne by the Tibetan king on the condition that the former became his vassal.<sup>1</sup> Several times two Chinese envoys passed through Nepal between the period 642-647 and 657 A. D. while Narendradeva was ruling. It is an ascertained fact from Chinese history that from 643 A. D. to 657 A. D. Narendradeva was found on the throne.<sup>2</sup> Amśuvarman's death therefore is to be dated before 643 and after 635 A. D. when he was alive in the time of Sivadeva I. The period is further narrowed down by the discovery of a further inscription of Sivadeva I, dated 320 published by Professor Lévi in his vol. III on Nepal (p. 79)<sup>3</sup>. This is similar to his other charters mentioning the *Mahāsāmanta* Amśuvarman, who had conquered all the enemies. He was thus alive in (320 G. E.) 639 A. D., and his death must fall between 639 A. D. and 643 A. D.

Now can we get at the exact date between these two incontestible dates 639 and 643 A. D.? If my reading of the date as the year 44 in the Thānkot inscription of Jishnu Gupta (Lévi, iii, plate

<sup>1</sup> The passage has been several times translated by French Sinologues commencing with St. Julien (*JA*, 1847).

<sup>2</sup> See Lévi, *JA*, 1894, 55; 1900, 297; *Le Nepal*, i. 155; ii. 164-165; cf. V. Smith, *EH*, 366, on dates of arrivals of the mission in India.

<sup>3</sup> Discovered by Maharaja Chandra Shamsher Jang at Khopasi (a village to the east of Bhatgaon). Plate XIII of Lévi has the date in perfect and clearest state of preservation, and reads 320, *Chaitra kṛishṇa-pañchamīyām*. Unfortunately Prof. Lévi, under his curious idea of Nepal Eras and of Nepal history which minimised the importance of all Gupta connexions in Nepal, read the figure as 520.



XVII), be correct,<sup>1</sup> we can definitely say that Jishṇu Gupta and his puppets, Mānadeva and Dhruvadeva—uncle of Narendradeva and the Lichchhavi succeeding him—ruled for 4 years (yrs. 48<sup>2</sup> and 44 in Jishṇu Gupta's inscriptions), and that the death of Amśuvarman is to be dated (643-4) c. 639.

Fortunately we have an astronomical datum in an inscription of Amśuvarman discovered and published by Dr. Bendall in his *Journey into Nepal* (IA, XV. 338). This is dated in the year 34, in the intercalary month of *Pausha* (*prathama-Pausha śukla-dvitiyā-jām*). According to the present system no intercalation is reckoned in *Pausha* or *Mārgaśīrṣa*, but that such intercalation was reckoned in the earlier period is confirmed by another inscription noted by Dr. Fleet (IA, XV. 338). Now following the system of the old *Ārya Siddhānta*<sup>3</sup> the month of *Pausha* will intercalate in the period 600-700 A. D. in four years, namely in 629, 648, 667 and 686 A. D.<sup>4</sup> As 648, 667 and 686 fall in the reigns of Narendradeva and later, we have to select only 629 A. D. as the date when the year 34 of Amśuvarman with *prathama* (1st) *Pausha* [about November, 23] fell. This will give the initial year of Amśuvarman's era to be 595 A. D.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See plate of the beginning of line 30 (enlarged) from Lévi, iii, 104, pl. XVII. Lévi suggested 500, of which there is no trace.

<sup>2</sup> IA., IX. 171.

<sup>3</sup> See Sewell, *Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar* (p.x).

<sup>4</sup> See Sewell's Tables.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. JA, 1894, 62 (Lévi, On the Chronology of Nepal), where he has taken 594, which is an error. His other astronomical facts are also inaccurate. According to the Brahmasid-



His 44th year will thus be 639 A. D.<sup>1</sup> We have therefore to take his death year to be that if the Thankot inscription is dated in the year 44 and his last inscription to be dated in the year 44, not 45 [the reading was doubtful between 44 and 45, Bhagwanlal Indraji, *IA*, IX. 171 n. 27; Fleet, *GI*, I, 180, n. 5]. Otherwise it would fall (in any case) after Chaitra-kṛishṇa-pañchamī, March 639 A. D. and before 643 A. D.

*The Chronology of the rule of Amśuvarman and  
Dynastic Revolution on his death*

The chronology of the reigns of Amśuvarman and Jishṇu Gupta would stand thus.

*Amśuvarman*

- 595 Beginning of Amśuvarman's Era.
- 625 Amśuvarman's Hārigaon inscription (Lévi, iii, 85) of year 30, Jyaisṭha 6, fixing maintenance of his commander-in-chief, his coronation horse and elephants, and others.

dhānta (which, Lévi erroneously says, would give the same result) the intercalation of Pausha will take place in 602, 621 and 640 A. D. The Brahma-siddhānta could not have reached Nepal in 602 A. D. or 621 A. D., for it was published and came into use after 628 A. D. (Sewell, p. X). 660 A. D. = 34 of Amśuvarman will give us 606 A. D. as the initial year of the era, which we have seen to be impossible. 621 A. D. = 34 of Amśuvarman would make him dead in 635 (587 + 48th year when Jishṇu Gupta was ruling), while he was alive up to 639, the 320 year record of Śivadeva.

The astronomical calculations given above have been verified by my friend Dr. Gorakh Prasad, the astronomer of the Allahabad University.

<sup>1</sup> Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī gives Amśuvarman a reign of 42 years.



- 627 His second Harigaon insc., of year 32, Āshādha Ś. 13, (Lévi, iii. 93), fixing charitable allowances. His Sanga insc. of year 32, Bhādrāpada S. 1, giving a privilege to the village [describing Palace *Kailāśakūta* from which all his charters are issued, as a 'wonder-inspiring' building] Lévi, iii. 99.
- 629 His insc. of year 34 (Jyaishtha Ś.10), IA, IX. 169, on preservation of cocks, pigs, and fishes, etc.
- 629 His insc. of year 34 (prathama-Pausha Ś.2), Bendall, p. 74. Grant of fields for repairs of a building.
- 634 His insc. of year 39, Vaiśākha Ś.10, order issued as king (*śrī*), for administration in respect of religious (Śaiva) endowments by his sister and her children [IA., IX. 170.];  
U d a y a d e v a a s y u v a r ā j a.

*Amśuvarman and Sivadeva I.*

- 635 Sivadeva I's insc. of year 316 Jyaishtha Ś.10 (Bendall, *Journey*, p. 72, IA, XIV. 97) granting privilege to a village on the advice of the *Mahāsāmanta* A m ś u v a r m a n.
- 639 Sivadeva I's insc. of year 320, Chaitra, Kṛishṇa 5, at Khopasi; privilege to the village on the advice of Ms. Amśuvarman (Lévi, iii. 79).<sup>1</sup>
- 639 Vibhuvarman's insc. in the year 44 (or,

<sup>1</sup> There are two more inscriptions of Sivadeva I where MS. Amśuvarman's advice is cited in the charters, but the dates are gone—IA, IX. 168; Lévi, iii, 62 [Tulachchhitol-Bhatgaon].



45), Jyeshṭha Ś., when he built a conduit by favour of His Majesty (śrī) Amśuvarman.

*Jishṇu Gupta and Mānadeva*

- 639 (?) Thankot inscription of Śrī Jishṇu Guptadeva, under Baṭṭāraka ['Master'] Śrī Mānadeva, '*banner of the family occupying the Lion-Throne,*' of year 44 [?], confirming the grant for a tank made by his own great-grandfather Mānadevagomin. Jishṇu Gupta had his own *Yuvarāja* Vishṇu Gupta, and his dynasty *Soma* [Lévi, iii. 104]

*Jishṇu Gupta and Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi.*

- 643 Jishṇu Gupta (His Majesty, Śrī), at Mīna-Nārāyaṇ, in year 48, Kārttika Ś.2, makes over to a feudatory a water-course which had been dug out by the "*Mahārājadhīrāja Amśuvarma-pāda.*" The order is passed under the over-lord Dhruvadeva. Jishṇu Gupta claims his sovereignty by hereditary right and popular approval [IA., IX. 171].

There is another inscription like the above where the date is mutilated. That also is under Dhruvadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavi dynasty [IA., IX. 173]. The last known inscription [IA., IX. 174] under the prosperous and victorious reign of Śrī-Jishṇu-Gupta (Śrī-Jishṇu-



Guptasya pravarddhamāna-vijayarājye) has also lost its date.

### *Narendradeva*

643 Narendradeva [grandson of Amśuvarman, son of Udayadeva] found by the Chinese already restored on the Nepal throne.

It seems that 643 A. D. was the first year of the restoration of Narendradeva, when Jishnu-Gupta had been ruling along with Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi whose name we do not find in the Varṁśāvali [unless it is to be taken as identical with the *Rudradeva*]. The uncle of Narendradeva, therefore must have been Mānadeva who ruled with Jishnu Gupta before Dhruvadeva who is placed in the Varṁśāvalis after Udayadeva and is not called *Lichchhavi-kula-ketu* like Dhruvadeva but *simhāsanādhyāsi-kula-ketu* in the inscription. It appears that Jishnu Gupta wanted to legalise his position by setting up a Lichchhavi at Mānagriha in the place of Mānadeva and sought the popular approval as against the claim of Narendradeva.

### *The Author of the Era 595 A. D.*

What does this era which started in 595 A. D. signify?

The Guptas were expelled by Śivadeva I about this time<sup>1</sup>. But then Śivadeva I himself uses the Imperial Gupta era and not a new era. It seems that Amśuvarman counted the era from his own coronation as *Mahāsāmanta*,

<sup>1</sup> See separate section on the Guptas of Nepal below.



and it is *A m ś u v a r m a n*'s own era. He was the founder of a new (the *Ṭ h ā k u r ī*) dynasty—an event sufficiently important, especially as it meant the virtual supersession of the ancient and long dynasty of the great *L i c h c h h a v i s*. He counted his original coronation as the reckoning of his new dynasty. That he did not take a formal second *a b h i s h e k a*, at least up to his 34th year, is evident from his inscription where throughout he is styled by the old title *Mahāsāmanta*, although all the paraphernalia and functions mentioned in the inscriptions are fully royal. Probably he was re-anointed in the very last year of his reign as the full title of sovereignty—*Mahārājādhiraja*—does appear on one series of his coins.<sup>1</sup> This was not a posthumous title given by *J i s h ṇ u G u p t a* as supposed by Bhagwan Lal Indraji and Lévi.

A telling argument against the theory of the introduction of the *H a r s h a E r a* into Nepal is that had it been politically introduced we would have found it also in the inscriptions of *Ś i v a d e v a I*, contemporary of *A m ś u v a r m a n*. On the other hand, *Ś i v a d e v a I* and his successors never adopted the era which *A m ś u v a r m a n* and his successors used, that is, the era of lower figures—years 30 to 153. It was thus evidently the *Ṭ h ā k u r ī E r a*, the era of *A m ś u v a r m a n*, counted from his coronation as *Mahāsāmanta*.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, C. A. I. 117. Lévi, Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet have missed this piece of evidence.



### *A Tibetan Era in Nepal?*

Prof. Lévi expounded a theory that Amśuvarman's years were in a Tibetan Era (*Le Nepal*, ii, 153-54) which, according to the dates 1203 and 1206 in Dalai Lama's letters of 1789 and 1792 A.D., should have begun in 586 A.D. The Chinese register the foundation of the Tibetan empire in the K'ai-Hoang period which falls between 581 and 601 A.D. Professor Lévi therefore suggests that there was a Tibetan Era which was also the origin of the Bengali Era called "*San*." Both these theories are untenable.

The Bengal Era though apparently counted from 593 A.D. as its initial year, has really nothing to do with any era starting in 593 A.D. It was invented in the reign of Akbar by taking the years of Hindu eras [Samvat and others] for the year of Akbar's accession and deducting therefrom his accession year in Hijra. His accession occurred in the Hijra year 963; in other systems it corresponded to 1556 A.D. ( $1556 - 963 = 593$  A.D.)<sup>1</sup>. The origin of the Bengal *San* is thus a new calculation invented in Akbar's reign, and not a Tibetan era. The speculation of Prof. Lévi connecting it with a Tibetan era and assuming a supposed Tibetan conquest of Bengal is a product of unhistorical imagination and complete ignorance of the history of the foundation of the *San-i-Bangálá*, the Fasli year of Bihar and the Vilāyatī year of the Deccan, which all have a common origin, as

<sup>1</sup> See Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 168; Fleet's *Hindu Chronology* in *Ency. Brit.*, xiii.



fully recorded by Muhammadan historians<sup>1</sup>. Prof. Lévi's method illustrates how a pure philologist makes a poor historian. Prof. Lévi, although he does not say so in clear terms, was swayed [ii. 154] by the name-ending of Tibetan kings *tsan* in attributing a Tibetan origin to the *San* of Bengal, which is not a Tibetan but a Persian word. Tibetans never had any era, that is, a continuous reckoning in their own country. They counted time in cycles and by periods (Prinsep, *Essays*, ii. 160 '*Tibetan Kalendar*'; ii. 289, '*Buddhist Chronology of Tibet*'; Waddel, *Lhasa* (1909), 449, *Tibetan Year-Cycles*). They have a fixed epoch falling in 1025 A.D. which is the year of the introduction into Tibet of the Hindu chronological system called *Kālachakra*. Csoma translated the Tibetan chronology composed in A.D. 1686 (Prinsep, ii. 289) which clearly admits that there was no Tibetan era up to 1686 A.D., that the whole idea of an era was absent in the Tibetan system. For the period before 1025 A.D. Tibet has a fixed epoch of 403 years (Prinsep, ii. 162). Prof. Lévi not finding a possible date in 586 A.D. for Amśuvarman's era, proposed that this 403 figure must be a mistake for 430 and deducting from 1025 A.D. reached 595 A.D. and said that that must be the beginning of a Tibetan era which was introduced in Nepal. Now apart from the fact that the whole of the Tibetan chronology negatives the idea of there having been an era in Tibet, Prof. Lévi's proposal to change 403 into 430 is based on no ground. The "epoch of 403 years" is not

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep, ii. 169.



rendered in Tibetan in figures but by a chronogram *mekha-gya-tso* which does not admit of a possible transposition in the process of copying. Further the period "403 years" is too solidly fixed and too well-attested for the interval by noted events to premise a correction (Prinsep, ii. 289).

Now "403 years" before their epoch of 1025 A.D. takes us to 622 A.D. which is really an era, the Hijra era, which Tibet came to know of very early, having come in conflict with the Arabs within the first century of the Hijra—a conflict which continued and lasted for a long time. There is not the least trace in Tibetan books of the establishment of a Tibetan era in 586 A.D., 593 A.D. or 595 A.D.—the dates proposed by Lévi.

It is not possible to hold that the years of *A m ś u v a r m a n* are dated in a Tibetan Era. Prof. Lévi says that the adoption of 'the Tibetan Era' signifies the subjugation of Nepal by Tibet. If so, there is no explanation as to why the real king of Nepal, the Lichchhavi *Ś i v a d e v a* (I), contemporary of *A m ś u v a r m a n* signing his writ in 316 (G. E.) = 635 A. D. does not adopt the so-called Tibetan Era. He and his successors continue to use another and an older era of three figures (the Gupta Era). If a Tibetan Era was politically introduced in Nepal, it would be expected that the Lichchhavi king in 635 A. D. should have used it as *A m ś u v a r m a n* is supposed to have used it. Tibetan influence is assumed on the ground of marriage of the daughter of *A m ś u v a r m a n* with the first Tibetan emperor, *S r o n g - t s a n - G a m p o*,



whose accession date is definitely 629 A. D. But we find Amśuvarman dating his Harigaon inscription in the year 30 (625 A. D.).<sup>1</sup> If it is in a Tibetan Era the introduction of the Era would be even before the accession of Srong-tsan-Gampo! And if we take 'the Tibetan Era' to commence in 586 A.D. the date of Amśuvarman's year 30 would be 616, i.e., 13 years before the accession Srong-tsan-Gampo! The whole volume of evidence contradicts the possibility.<sup>2</sup> There is no room for the assumption of the introduction of a Tibetan era before 629 A.D.. Yuan Chwang who passed through the Muzafferpur district in 637 A.D. and took down notes about Nepal in that year knows nothing about any Tibetan suzerainty over Nepal and treats that kingdom as an independent one. In 650 A.D. when Taosuen compiled his *Che-kia-fan-chi*<sup>3</sup> after quoting the description by Yuan Chwang textually he adds "actually the kingdom is under the domination of the Tibetans." The era of Amśuvarman's inscriptions which go back to 625 A. D., i.e., some years even before Yuan Chwang's account, could not therefore be dated in a Tibetan Era. Then, if in the year 30 of Amśuvarman when he described himself as *Mahāsāmanta*, Nepal had been already conquered by Tibet, how could Amśuvarman strike his coins later

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, *Le Nepal*, iii, 85. This inscription was unknown to Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet.

<sup>2</sup> See below on the data of the Mañjuśrī History and the Chinese History which definitely date the Tibetan suzerainty after Jishnu Gupta (successor of Amśuvarman) and between 643 A. D. and 647 A. D.

<sup>3</sup> Nanjio, *Catalogue*, (No. 1470; *J.A.*, 1894, 60.)



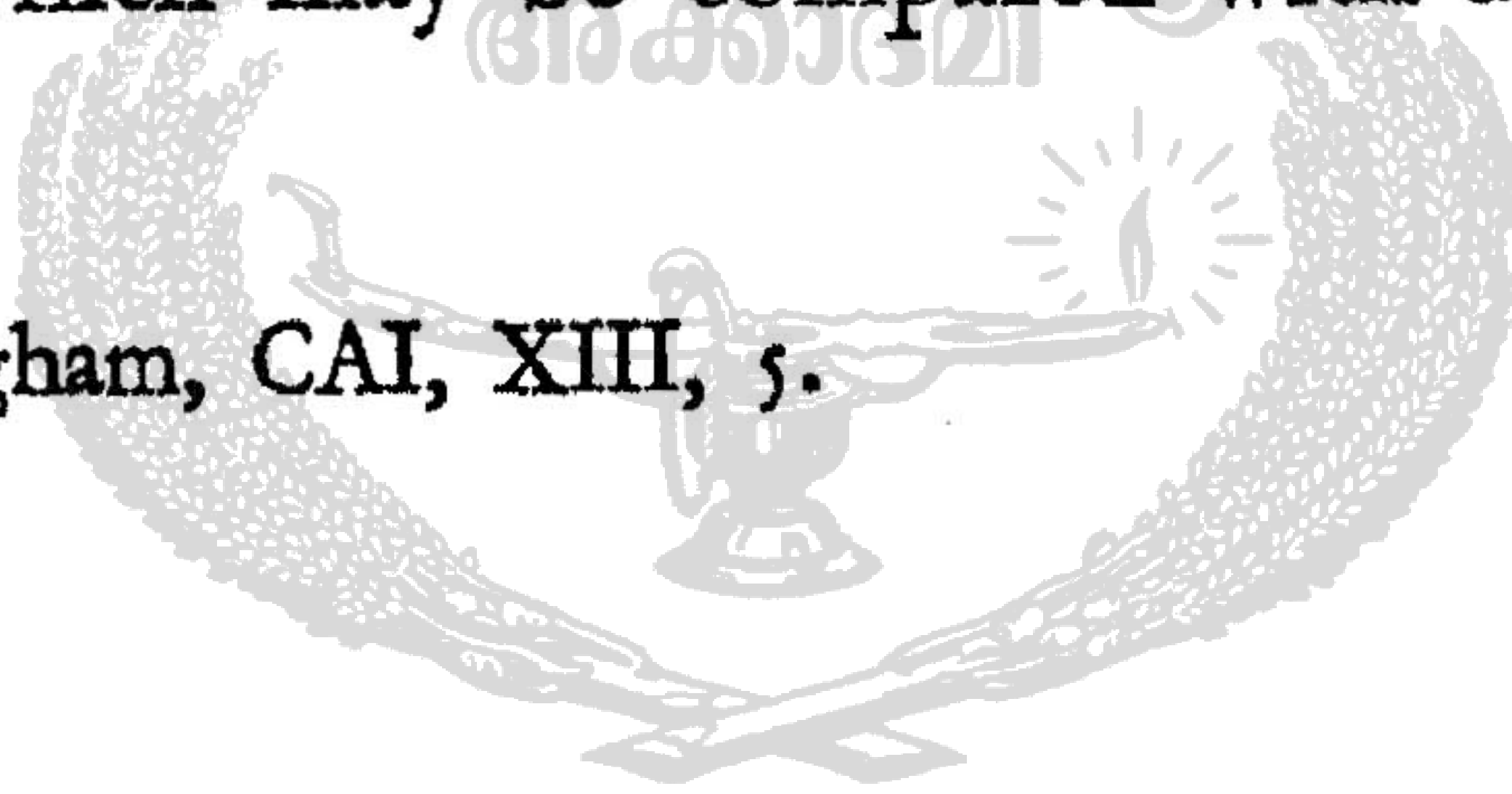
with the full imperial title, that is, the title of an independent sovereign—‘*Mahārājādhirāja*’ ?<sup>1</sup> Prof. Lévi did not take account of this numismatic evidence at all, otherwise probably he would not have put forward his theory of a Tibetan conquest or suzerainty over Nepal and of introduction of a non-existent Tibetan Era into Nepal.

## II.—CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF AMSUVARMAN

The constitutional position of Amśuvarman can be gathered from certain Nepal inscriptions and his coins; and that position when ascertained throws some light also on the question of the Era used by him and his successors.

There are nine dated inscriptions on him, giving his titles, which may be compared with the titles on his coins.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, CAI, XIII, 5.





<i>Years and Eras</i>	<i>Record of</i>	<i>Titles of Amśu- varman</i>	<i>Corresponding titles on coins of Amśuvarman</i>
<sup>1</sup> 316 (635 A.D.)	King Śivade- va ( <i>Bhaṭṭā- raka mahā- rāja Śrī Śi- vadeva</i> )	" <i>Mahāsāmaṇṭa</i> (High Feuda- tory) <i>Amśu- varman</i> "	Nil.
<sup>2</sup> 320 (639 A.D.)	"	"	"
<sup>3</sup> 30 New Era	Amśuvarman	" <i>Śrī mahāsā- manta Amśu- varman</i> "	"
<sup>4</sup> 32 " "	"	"	"
<sup>5</sup> 34 " "	"	"	"
<sup>6</sup> 34 " "	"	"	"
<sup>7</sup> 39 " "	"	" <i>Śrī-Amśuvar- man</i> "	" <i>Śrī-Amśuvar- ma</i> " (CAI, Pl. XIII. 4,6)
<sup>8</sup> 45 or 44 New Era	private indivi- dual	" <i>Śrī-Amśuvar- man</i> "	"
<sup>9</sup> 48 " "	King Jishnu- gupta (" <i>Śrī- Jishnugupta</i> ")	<i>Bhaṭṭāraka-mahā- rājādbhirāja Śrī Amśuvarman</i>	" <i>Mahārājā- dbhirājasya Śryamśob</i> (Śrī- Amśu's)

<sup>1</sup> Golmādhitol, Bhatgaon insc. Fleet, G I, *Intro.* 177-8; I. A.; XIV. 97; Dr. Beṇdall was the first to suggest the obvious conclusion from the known date of Amśuvarman that the Era must be the Gupta Era.

The inscription is by King Śivadeva I where Amśuvarman is adviser and his sister's son Bhogavarman is the *Dūtaka*.

<sup>2</sup> Khopasi, outside the valley, E of Bhatgaon, Lévi, *Le Nepal*, iii. 79 (date misread as "520" for "320").

<sup>3</sup> Lévi, *Le Nepal*, iii, 95, Pl. XIII; Harigaon insc. I.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 93, Harigaon.

<sup>5</sup> IA, IX. 169; GI, *Intro.* 178; Bungmati insc.

<sup>6</sup> GI, *Intro.* 179.

<sup>7</sup> IA, IX. 170; GI. I 179; Devapātan insc.

<sup>8</sup> IA, IX 171; G I, I. 180; Kathmandu conduit insc.



The above analysis would show

1. that the title *Mabāsāmanta* is given up after the 34th year by Amśuvarman, [though the Lichchhavi king still applies it to him up to 639 A.D.];
2. that *Śrī* is used as title of full sovereignty, which according to books on constitutional forms and precedents may alone denote 'His Majesty.' The same *Śrī* alone we find on the coins of M ā n a and G u ṇ a (CAI, XIII, 1, 2);
3. that the higher—the imperial—title of *mahārājādhirāja* must have been assumed by A m ś u v a r m a n after or in the year 44/45 and before the year 48, and that he had died before the inscription of J i ś h ṇ u G u p t a of the year 48;
4. that A m ś u v a r m a n was never a subordinate of the Tibetan king even up to his death (between years 44 and 48). If A m ś u v a r m a n had given his daughter to the Tibetan king, so had done the Emperor of China. The alliances prove the importance of Tibet but not suzerainty in either case;
5. that A m ś u v a r m a n adopted full kingship between the years 34 and 39, and the imperial title after 320 GI [= 639 A. D.]

अयं शुवर्म्मप्रसादेन कारिता सत्प्रणाली विभुवर्म्मणा . There is a doubt as to whether the figure after 40 was 4 or 5. [Nepal Government has extended the parade grounds over this water work; the insc. is lost probably buried under ground.]

<sup>9</sup> IA, XIV. 171; G I, I. 180; Lalitapattana (Chhinnamastikā Temple).



Chaitrakrishna 5<sup>1</sup> in or after and the 44th year;

6. that the era of the 44th year would therefore (639-44) begin in 595 A. D., not later.

If we take into account that he must have been alive in the year of the marriage of his daughter with the Tibetan king (641) and must have died before the year 48—and at least a year before 644 (not later, when Yuan Chwang left the plains of Mid-India), we get the same result, namely, that he died between 639 and 643, and his era was counted from 595 A.D. which he ushered in or about 625 A.D. his 30th year (30th year of his birth or his rule as *Mahāsāmanta*).

If the real position of *A m ś u v a r m a n* is realized, it becomes clear that *A m ś u v a r m a n* is registering his own regnal years as a subordinate ruler in his inscriptions. The Harigaon record of the year 30, which is the earliest known record of this ruler, shows his exact status. It announces maintenance grants to a number of his officers, his (old?) animals and some idols, after the fashion of 'old kings' पूर्वराजानुवृत्त्या यथोचितप्रदानानि. The record is in form a royal writ (the donor *samājñāpayati*, 'commands'). The grants are in favour of, amongst others, 'the Commander-in-Chief' (*Mahābalādhyaksha*), 'the coronation elephants,' 'the coronation horse' (*abhisheka-hastinah; abhishekāśvasya*), 'the standard-bearer,' 'the confidential leaders at the time of undertaking an invasion (or, procession? *Yātrā*). The writ is made known to

<sup>1</sup> Khopasi insc.



the 'Royal Palaces' (rāja-prasādeshu), and it is laid down in the end that "future kings" were not to neglect this favour of their ancestor (न कैश्चिदयम् प्रसादन्यथा करणीयो भविष्यद्विरपि भूपतिभिर्गुरुकृतप्रसादानुवर्तिभिरेव भाव्यमिति) to emphasize which the Donor says that this he personally commands 'iti svayamājñā' (as opposed to, through the medium of a *dūtaka*, agent). This of course, amounts to the Donor's own signature. The date he himself puts down along with the subscript *svayam ājñā*, 'samvat 30 Jyaishtṭha śukla shash-  
ṭhāyām.' He is thus talking in terms of a full sovereign, and is directing 'kings' who are to come after him. His title *mahāsāmanta* had ceased to bear its ordinary meaning and had acquired the elevated position of a royal epithet though denoting the origin, like the *Senāpati* with the name of P u s h y a m i t r a, 'the sacrificer of two aśvamedhas' (i.e. an emperor: Ayodhyā inscription) where Pushyamitra though already an emperor is still styled as *Senāpati* by his old title. After the style of a full sovereign A m ś u v a r-  
m a n claims the title of his throne from his respected father (बप्पपादपरिगृहीतः), not from a liege-lord. In other words, any idea of being a feudatory is excluded. And it was to punctuate this that he dates the order in a New Era.

Naturally the old dynasty of the Lichchhavis does not recognise this era of their rival and ex-feudatory and they date as usual in the old Gupta Era. He counts this New or Thākuri Era from his birth or accession as *Mahāsāmanta*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He is given a reign of 42 years by Kirkpatrick's authority.



The inscription of the year 30 is evidently the first donation on assuming sovereignty. Two years later in another writ of gifts—which is a long list of pious donations (Harigaon Insc. of the year 32: Lévi, iii-92) he says that he was anxious about the happiness of his subjects: कथं प्रजा मे सुखिता भवेद्...In the Bungmatī inscription of again two years later (year 34), he issues a charter to a village community through a *dūtaka* and refers to himself, addressing his successors, as ‘a former king’, पूर्वराज-कृतप्रसाद, (IA, IX. 169). He meditated at the feet of his father, that is, as formerly, there is no mention of an overlord. In the Devapāṭan inscription (IA, IX. 170) of the year 39, he is a powerful king, a reformer and has his own *yuvarāja* [‘crown prince’—Udayadeva] as *dūtaka*, giving a pious privilege to a foundation of his sister; but he has no title except *Śrī*, just as on several issues of his coins.<sup>1</sup> Similarly in the inscription of the year 4[4] which is a private record he is referred to only as ‘*Śrī-Amśuvarman*.’ These two records mean that *Śrī* here stands, as observed above, for ‘king’ (‘His Majesty’) and was considered quite sufficient to denote his full sovereignty.

Now let us take the inscription of Ś i v a d e v a I, the king who refers to A m ś u v a r m a n . In the Bhātgaon writ of the year 316<sup>2</sup> (Gupta Era) of Ś i v a d e v a, A m ś u v a r m a n is highly praised and described as a great conqueror (प्रख्याता-मलविपुलपराक्रमप्रशमितामितविपक्ष-प्रभावेन), and “to honour

<sup>1</sup> See CAI, XIII; Walsh, JRAS., 1908, p. 669.

<sup>2</sup> See Fleet, G I, p. 178 (*Intro.*) on the date; IA, XIV. 97; Bandall (*Journey*.)



his request” (एतद्गौरवात्) the privilege was granted to the village. Evidently here Amśuvarman is not treated in reality as a subordinate but as an equal sovereign whose request was to be respected and a privilege granted to a village in Śivadeva's part of Nepal on the recommendation of Amśuvarman. Śivadeva's inscription at Buddha Nilkantha<sup>1</sup>, wherein the date is now missing, shows still more pointedly that more honour and fuller royal honour is accorded to Amśuvarman than to Śivadeva himself. Amśuvarman's great and complete successes in war (यथानेक-पृथुसमरसम्पात-विजयाधिगत-शौर्यप्रतापाहत-सकल शत्रुपक्ष-प्रभावेन,) and his success in kingship (सम्यक् प्रजा-पालन-परिश्रमोपार्जित-शुभ्रयशोभिव्याप्तदिग्मण्डलेन) are so prominently described that it seems certain that Amśuvarman was treated as king in these inscriptions of Śivadeva. Although Amśuvarman was ruling over the 'West', as guessed by Fleet and now confirmed by the Mañjuśrī Imperial History (p. 20), he was practically the real sovereign of Nepal and the position of Śivadeva had been reduced to that of a nominal, courtesy king of the 'East.'<sup>2</sup> Thus in the Gupta year 316=635 A. D.

<sup>1</sup> IA, IX. 168.

<sup>2</sup> He acts as Dictator in the Eastern part of the kingdom, and as sovereign in the Western part. The grant of privilege to the village of Kurppāsī which is to the E. of Bhatgaon is made 'with the king's approval' by Amśuvarman himself, who had dispelled ignorance by the rays of his own virtues, had established welfare by his devotion to Lord Bhava (Śiva), and had uprooted the whole lot of enemies by the strength of his own arms [ विदितमस्तु वो यथानेन स्वगुणमणिमयूखालोक-ध्वस्ताज्ञान-



*A m ś u v a r m a n* was a full sovereign, and that he had been so for some time. This position he had assumed with his inscription and grants of the year 30, whereby he fixes salaries and allowances for his royal officers. His reference to his coronation horse and his coronation elephants evidently means the animals of the time of his coronation as *mahā-sāmanta*, as there is no indication in the proclamation of any subsequent or recent coronation. His year 30 must be counted from his coronation as *mahā-sāmanta*. This year 30 being the year of assumption of his ruling powers, must, precede 635 A. D. the date in *Śiva-deva I's* panegyric of *A m ś u v a r m a n*.

### III.—CONFUSION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF VAMSAVALI EXPLAINED.

The *Vamśāvalī*s note in the first place the *Mānadeva* whom we know to have flourished after *A m ś u v a r m a n*, and whose date is known from the inscriptions (GI, 189, I.)<sup>1</sup>; but the *Vamśāvalī*s by a confusion register two *Mānadevas* *before*

तिमिरेण भगवद्भवपाद-पङ्कजप्रणामानुष्ठानतात्पर्योपात्तायतिहितश्रेयसा  
स्वभुजयुगबलोत्खाताखिलवैरिवर्गोण श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्मणा ]

<sup>1</sup> About one *Mānadeva* who flourished in the Lichchhavi dynasty we have it on the basis of inscriptions that he was the son of *Dharmadeva*, grandson of *Śaṅkara-deva*, and great-grandson of *Vṛishadeva*, and that he lived c. 705-733 A. D. (IA, IX. 163; GI. I, 182; the Changu Narayan Pillar inscription which *Mānadeva* himself dated 386 = 705 A. D; IA, IX. 166; the Paśupatinath Temple inscription of the reign of *Mānadeva*, dated 413 = 732-33 A. D.; IA, IX. 178 : insc. of *Jayadeva II* of the year 153 at Paśupati Temple mentioning *Mānadeva* in the genealogy giving his descendants *Mahīdeva* and *Vasantadeva*, son and grandson).



Amśuvarman. If we look into the list [in IA, XIII 412] we find that M ā n a d e v a is first placed after D h a r m a d e v a, two steps above V a s a n t a d e v a, which is his correct position in the inscriptions. Then the name is reported (as No. 25) *once more* after V a s a n t a d e v a (no. 23) and U d a y a d e v a v a r m a n (no. 24) and one step above Ś i v a d e v a (no. 27), predecessor of A m ś u v a r m a n. We have evidence for the existence of this second Mānadeva. According to the inscription of Jishṇu Gupta at Thankot<sup>1</sup> a Mānadeva who was not a Lichchhavi, ruled as the sovereign (*Bhaṭṭāraka*) of Jishṇu Gupta. According to the Mañjuśrī History, U d a y a d e v a succeeded Amśuvarma and was succeeded by Jishṇu Gupta. This is correct, as Udayadeva is *Yuvarāja* of Amśuvarman in his inscription. U d a y a d e v a came after A m ś u v a r m a n, and not before him. After the list—Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva—which agrees literally with that in the Vamśāvalīś, the inscription of Jayadeva II gives, as unconnected with the above in the direct line, (1) U d a y a d e v a, (2) N a r e n d r a d e v a, Narendradeva's son (3) Ś i v a d e v a II and the latter's son (4) J a y a d e v a II (inscription dated 153 = 748 A. D.) Against this the Vamśāvalīś have two different data :

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, *Le Nepal*, iii. 104.



- (1) *IA*, xiii. 413;  
*Lévi*, ii. 92, 112
- (2) *Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī*
24. Udayadeva, son of 23.  
 25. Mānadeva varman son of 24  
 26. Guṇakāmadeva varman,  
 son of 25  
 27. Śivadeva varman, son of  
 26, made Devapāṭana  
 his capital  
 28. Narendradeva varman  
 son of 27  
 29. Bhīmadevavarman, son of  
 28  
 30. Vishṇudeva varman, son  
 of 29  
 31. Viśvadevavarman, son of  
 30  
 [Viśva Gupta—  
*Lévis' V.*] father-in-law  
 of Amśuvarman.
28. Bhīmadevavarman—In his  
 reign the Ahīr Dyna-  
 sty of the Guptas  
 restored, who were  
 29. Vishṇu Gupta  
 30. Kṛishṇa Gupta  
 31. Bhūmi Gupta  
*New Dynasty*  
 32. Śivadeva varman  
 expelled the Guptas  
 and restored the Śūrya-  
 vamśīs  
*New Dynasty : Thākurīs*  
 32. Amśuvarman  
 33. Amśuvarman

It is evident that Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī here accords with the facts known from inscriptions that Śivadeva [I] who is said to have restored the Śūryavamśīs (i.e., the Lichchhavi dynasty, supposed to be a branch of the Ikshvākus—*Śūryavamśa*<sup>1</sup>) was followed by Amśuvarman. It inserts Vishṇu Gupta (*varmā* of other Vamśāvalīs), Kṛishṇa Gupta, etc. before Śivadeva I, as interlopers. They, as a dynasty, are called "the Guptas," and Ahīrs by

<sup>1</sup> See *IA*, IX. 178, inscr. of Jayadeva II, where descent is traced from Śūrya.



caste. They were the Later Guptas of Nepal<sup>1</sup> and evidently they claimed suzerainty. They are not in the line of the Lichchhavis. 'Bhīmavarma' is also described as 'Bhīma Gupta' in an earlier list of "the Guptas" wherein Harsha Gupta, Vishṇu Gupta and Jaya Gupta (as the last) also figure (Lévi, ii 73)<sup>2</sup>. These are all Later Guptas. Jaya Gupta is known from his coins of c. 600 A. D.<sup>3</sup> Excluding this list of the Gupta interlopers—Bhīma (28 or 29), Vishṇu (30 or 29), Kṛishna and Viśva or Bhūmī (31 or 30)—we get the Vamśāvalī list as

1. Udayadeva
2. Mānadeva
3. Guṇakama deva
4. Sivadeva
5. Narendradeva
6. Sivadeva
7. Amśuvarman

In the light of the inscriptions, the succession is

Udayadeva  
|  
Narendradeva  
|  
Sivadeva (II)

We know the time of Sivadeva II, as he was the father of Jayadeva II who dates his inscription in 153 (748 A. D.). This Sivadeva thus

<sup>1</sup> See below.

<sup>2</sup> The List of the Guptas is given in two places, once in the beginning where Nepal history begins and then under the Lichchhavis, in its proper setting. See below.

<sup>3</sup> CMI, II, 3; CIM, p. 121. See below.



will not be the Śivadeva contemporary of Amśuvarman, and has been rightly designated by Fleet as *Sivadeva II*. The Vamśāvalīs hence have fallen into a confusion in putting Amśuvarman below Śivadeva II owing to the identity of the names of the earlier Śivadeva [I] and the later Śivadeva [II]. The Vamśāvalīs have copied two independent lists :

I	II
Udayadeva	Śivadeva I
Narendradeva	Amśuvarman
Śivadeva II	

In the second list which is certainly of earlier kings they had two more names above Śivadeva I—namely Mānadeva I and Guṇakāmadeva. That list of earlier kings will thus be :

Mānadeva  
Guṇakāmadeva  
Śivadeva I  
Amśuvarman<sup>1</sup>

*Was there, then, an earlier Mānadeva, a Mānadeva I, who flourished before Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman, and was he succeeded by a Guṇakāmadeva?*

According to the inscriptions there is no room for Guṇakāmadeva either in the succession later than Śivadeva I, as Mānadeva of Jayadeva's inscription was succeeded by Mahīdeva, his son, who was succeeded by his son Vasant-

<sup>1</sup> See further discussion below.



d e v a (also called V a s a n t a s e n a). There is also no room for a *Guṇakāmadeva* in the other list beginning with U d a y a d e v a which the inscriptions of Jayadeva II and Jishṇu Gupta fix as *Udayadeva*—[*Mānadeva*]*—Narendradeva—Sivadeva II—J a y a - d e v a* II. As we shall see below there is no room for a *Guṇakāmadeva* to come in between *Udayadeva* and his son *Narendradeva*. Here coins help us. The *Mānāṅka* and *Guṇāṅka* coins are twins, one follows the other. We have thus the most positive evidence for the existence of G u ṇ a (k ā m a) d e v a<sup>1</sup>. *Mānadeva*, predecessor of *Guṇakāmadeva* has to come earlier than Amśuvarman and Sivadeva I.

Let us see if we have any other proof for the existence of a M ā n a d e v a I, that is, a M ā n a - d e v a before S i v a d e v a I.

#### IV.—MANADEVA I.

There is good evidence for the existence of an earlier Mānadeva, earlier than Amśuvarman, who should be called M ā n a d e v a I. Amśuvarman himself mentions a '*Mānagriha* gate' to his palace, a god *Māneśvara*, a vihāra *Māna-vihāra*. Sivadeva I issues his charter from *Mānagriha*. This would show that there was a Mānadeva before Amśuvarman and Sivadeva I.

This is again confirmed by the Mañjuśrī Imperial History (p. 20)<sup>2</sup>. It introduces the Lichchhavi line

<sup>1</sup> The style *Mānāṅka* and *Guṇāṅka* has been imitated from the Gupta coin legend *Vikramāṅka* of Chandra Gupta II and other Guptas (Cf. *Garudamaṅka* and *Parākrāmāṅka* of Samudra Gupta. Lévi, ii 108.)

<sup>2</sup> See extract below, § VI.



with *Mānavadeva* which has been rightly taken by Lévi to be a mistake for *Mānadeva*. He is placed there definitely before *Vṛishadeva* and as his predecessor. In the *Vaṁśāvalī* there is no *Mānavadeva* above *Vṛishadeva*. *Vṛishadeva*'s time is about 650 A. D. (G. I., p. 189, *Intro.*). The whole succession of 6 generations, from *Vṛishadeva* to *Vasantadeva II*, is one from father to son. *Vasanta* dates his charter in 415<sup>1</sup> (G. E. = 734 A. D.). The inscriptions of *Vṛishadeva*'s great grandson *Mānadeva* are<sup>2</sup> dated 705-732 A. D. *Vṛishadeva* came to the throne some time after *Sivadeva I*. In the genealogy of the *Vaṁśāvalīs* we have this order:

16 *Sivadeva varman* (Lévi's *V*, ii. 92).

17 *Rudradeva varman*

18 *Vṛishadeva varman* (I. A., XIII. 412).

Here it is evident that the *Sivadeva I* of the inscriptions is the *Siva (deva) varman* of the *Vaṁśāvalīs*. *Rudra-varman* is omitted in some *Vaṁśāvalīs* (Lévi, ii. 92), probably he is the same as *Dhruvadeva* of the inscription of *Jishṇu Gupta* under whom *Jishṇu-Gupta* grants privileges (I. A., IX. 171).

#### *Exact Date of Mānadeva I*

We have now, thanks to the researches of my revered and learned friend the *Rājaguru Śrī 6 Pandit Hemarāja Sarmā*, C.I.E., a material on the exact date of this *Mānadeva*, i.e., *Mānadeva I* has come to light. It is contained in a

<sup>1</sup> See below, the date is 415, not 435 as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX. 167).

<sup>2</sup> I.A., IX. 163, 166; Fleet, G.I., I., 182.



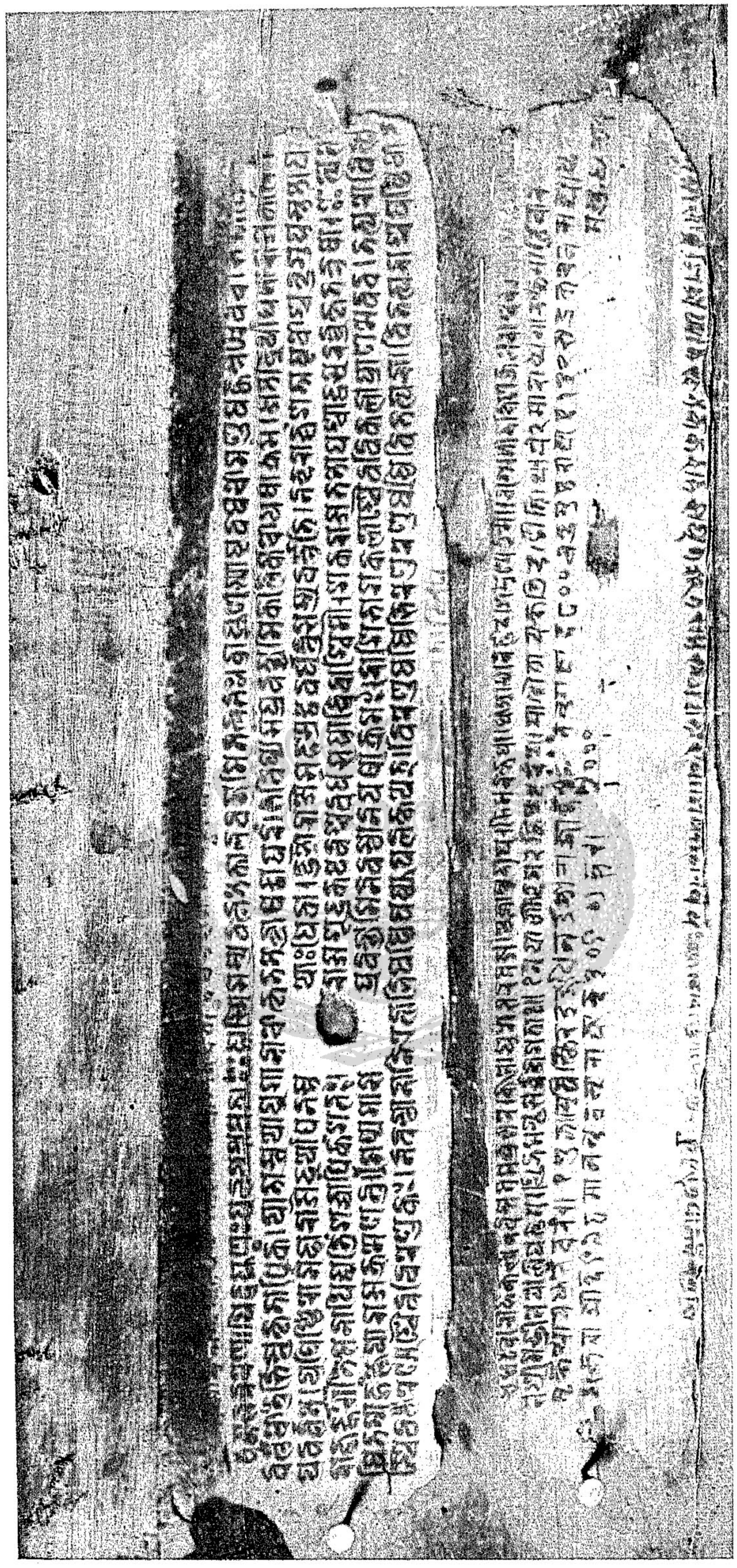
palm-leaf manuscript which gives his date as equivalent of 576 A. D. The Rājaguru, when he gave me his datum, was of opinion that this Mānadeva for whom he supplied the date from the manuscript was the Mānadeva of the inscription of Changu Nārāyan and that it proved a Mānadeva Era which was the era used by Amśuvarman. While I do not accept those views on account of M ā n a d e v a ' s (III's)<sup>1</sup> dated inscriptions at Changu Nārāyan and Paśupatināth and the other dated inscriptions discussed above and the cross-checks for A m ś u v a r m a n ' s years, I gratefully utilize the datum in establishing the time of an earlier Mānadeva, M ā n a d e v a I.

There is a manuscript of a book on Hindu Astronomy called *Sumati-tantra*, which belongs to the State Library of Nepal. The manuscript is in characters what are locally known as the *Gomo lipi*. From its script the date of the palm-leaf manuscript would be the 12th century. I reproduce the pages from a photograph very kindly given to me for that purpose by the learned Rājaguruji. I am told by that scholar that, in the body of the work, in giving examples of calculations the author uses as a pivot the equivalent of the Christian year 576. This would indicate that the author lived very near that date. The author by a chronogram which is contained in the first folio photographed gives the following chronology in verses in Sanskrit of the type of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* and other Buddhist works. These verses I

<sup>1</sup> Mānadeva II is the Mānadeva of Jishnu Gupta's insc.



Leaves of the Sumati=tantra



K. P. J.

JBORS, 1936



reproduce below from the photograph. Beginning with the K a l i Era, i.e. 3102 B. C., '*the reign of Yudhishṭhira and Duryodhana*,' the author roundly puts 2000 years for the pre-N a n d a period and 800 years more for the pre-C h a n d r a g u p t a (Maurya) period. He gives further 132 years to the Maurya kingdom; then 247 years to that of Ś ū d r a k a, that is, the Sātavāhanas. This brings us to the era of Ś a k a. Then there is an interval of 498 years. On the next page, a subsequent annotator has noted at the end that this interval of 498 brings the chronology to the reign of M ā n a d e v a, and the kingdom of Mānadeva is brought down by 304 years i.e., down to the Nepal Era. The initial year of the Nepal Era falls in 879-880 A. D. (the year beginning on the 1st Kārttika Sudi—G.I., Intro. 74). 498 years before it will take us to 576 A. D. as the year of Mānadeva I. Knowing as we do the initial year of Śaka—78 A.D., 498 years after it brings us to the same year ( $78 + 498 =$ ) 576 A. D. These three dates are the only definite dates which the Nepal astronomers—the author of the *Sumati-tantra* (the '*Sumati system*') and the annotator—knew: the Śaka era, and the initial year of Mānadeva I, and the Nepal Era. The annotator could calculate it from both the eras if he knew the correct interval from either. In the 12th century when the book was copied it is very likely that the astronomers of Nepal knew the correct date of M ā n a d e v a I. I have myself seen a number of hand-written books in possession of the Rājaguru which are note-books of the past centuries of Nepal astronomers, recording chief contemporary events,



made and left as heirlooms, for future use by their successors. Documents four and three hundred years old both on paper and palm-leaves are commonplace in Nepal families even today. I found one family possessing two hundred palm-leaf sale-deeds of the time of the Malla dynasty. They bear the original royal seals intact.<sup>1</sup> I saw a whole book—a long paper-roll folded as pages—which was originally written in 721 N.E = 1601 A. D. by the builder of the *Mahābodhi* temple at Bhatgaon, noting in full the description of the process of building the temple as a guide for future repairs. The book is being used today for repairing the damages caused by the earthquake of 1934. The habit of valuing old records and the climate are both in favour of this fortunate circumstance. It is thus reasonable to suppose that the annotator of the *Sumati-tantra* actually had reliable records before him for the date of *Mānadeva* I.

The chronology before the Śaka Era is not reliable, but its dates about *Chandragupta Maurya* and the dynasty of *Śūdraka* (*Simuka* = *Sūdraka Sātavāhana*) are interesting, being very near the true marks.

<sup>1</sup> Three of these I have brought and deposited at the Patna Museum. We have discovered in British India thousands of sealings of Hindu times but not a single example of a document with a sealing attached. Now we can see from the Nepal documents, discovered for the first time, how the seals were actually attached to documents by the royal office. They were clay (unbaked) sealings of a very cementing composition. A strip of palm-leaf tied the document after the fashion of inserting strips of leather in our leather shoes and then the joint was sealed. I hope to publish these examples in this Journal.



The text is as follows :—

- L2.).....यातास्तथा युगाना(=)वा कृत मन्ता(?)थ द्वापरं।  
 भविष्यं संप्रवक्ष्यामि कालिकं वा यथाक्रमं।  
 जातो दुर्योधनो राजा कलि ( . . ) (L3.) प्रवर्त्तते।  
 युधिष्ठिरो महाराजो दुर्योधनस्तथाऽपि वा।  
 उभौ राजौ सहस्रे द्वे वर्षन्तु सम्प्रवर्त्तति।  
 नन्दराज्यं शताष्टं वा श्चन्द्रगुप्तस्ततो पर (म्)।  
 L4.)राज्यङ्करोति तेनापि द्वात्रिंशच्चाधिकं शतम्।  
 राजा शूद्रकदेवश्च वर्षसप्ताब्धिचाश्विनौ।  
 शकराजा ततो पश्चादसुरध्रुकृतन्तथा।  
 इत्येते (भा) (L5.)षितं मह्यं ज्ञेया राजा कमेणतु

[Note].....युधिष्ठिर दुर्योधन उभौ राज्याब्द २०००[, ]नन्द राज्याब्द ८००[, ]चन्द्रगुप्त राज्याब्द १३२[, ]शूद्रकदेव राज्याब्द.....शक राज्याब्द ४९८[, ]मानदेवस्य राज्याब्द ३०४[.] शुभम्

The translation is :

(Line 3) Duryodhana was born in Kali.

Yudhishthira and Duryodhana : “the two kings last for 2000 years.”

“Nanda’s kingdom (rājya) lasts for 800 years.”

“Chandragupta is after that. He also rules for 132 years.”

“The king Śūdraka for 7, 4 (abdbi) and 2 (aśvinan) (i.e. for 247) years.

“After that, similarly, king Saka, 8, 9, 4 (that is, for 498) years.”

For the Nanda-rājya, it gives the year (3102 B. C.—2000 =) 1102 B. C., and for the beginning of the Maurya kingdom it gives (1102-800 =) 302 B. C., for the Sātavāhana kingdom, (302-132 =) 170 B. C., and for the Śaka kingdom, (247-170 =) 77 A. D.



(elapsed) i.e. 78 A. D. The dates for the commencement of the Maurya kingdom and the Sātavāhana kingdom are short by about 22 years each. The year for the commencement of the Nanda-Rājya is hopelessly wide off the mark.

It is clear that the author of the chronology took chief reigns as land-marks, and not always eras. There were Yudhishtira, Nanda, and Śaka Eras, but there was no Chandragupta Era, there was no Sūdraka Era. There is no trace of an Era of Mānadeva I, for we find Śivadeva I the Lichchhavi using not a recent era but the Gupta Era in 635 A. D. Nor could the Era of Amśuvarman be a Mānadeva Era, commencing from 576 A. D., for in that case Amśuvarman must be dead in  $(576 + 48 =) 624$  A. D. but he was alive in 635 A. D. (the date of Śivadeva I's inscription and later (see above). Evidently the author was a contemporary of Mānadeva I and used his coronation year for his calculations.

We are on firm ground in taking 576 A. D. as the first year of M ā n a d e v a I, as it receives corroboration not only from the script on the *Mānāṅka* coin, which Dr. V. Smith assigned to the 6th century A.D. (C. I. M., p. 281) but also from the dates of V ṛ i ś h a d e v a and Ś i v a d e v a I, before whom M ā n a d e v a I must come.

Another copy of the *Sumati-tantra* is in the British Museum Library. It is a palm leaf manuscript dated in Nepal Era, 476 (1356 A. D.). The copy is much later than the one to which reference is made above. With its help we have to read *Kali-sandhyam* in our line 2. It reads *śatāshṭaṅcha* against *śatāshṭam vā*



(line 3) of my manuscript<sup>1</sup>. While these are minor improvements, the two important figures for *Sūdraka* and *Śaka-rājā* are clearly wrong in the British Museum copy which reads राजा शूद्रक देवश्च वर्ष सप्ता द्वि चाश्विनौ  
 in place of                   ,,       ,,       ,,       ,, द्वि       ,,  
                   and                                   शक राजा ततो पश्चादसु चन्द्र कृतन्तथा,  
 in place of                   ,,       ,,       ,,       ,, रन्ध्र       ,,

These two figures would date the Śaka era twenty years earlier than its true date which the other manuscript gives correctly. The interval between Śaka and Mānadeva, read by it as of 418 years as against 498, is proved to be wrong by the next interval of 304 years which brings the chronology to 880 A.D., the beginning of the Nepal Era. The British Museum ms. will put Mānadeva at 496 A. D. (418—78 A. D.) or at 476 A. D. taking its other mistake (of 20 years placing Śaka at 58 A. D.). The last interval of 304 will then bring the chronology to 800 A. D. or 780 A. D., that is, there will be a discrepancy of 80 or 100 years. The two mistakes in the British Museum copy are produced by simple misreadings in Nepal scripts: *dvi* (द्वि) for *bdhi* (ब्धि) and *chandra* (चन्द्र) for *randhra* (रन्ध्र).

The British Museum copy has a prose line after the text ending with *krāmēna tu* which is not to be found in the older manuscript—

सेषा युताश्च कृत अम्बराग्नि ३०४ श्रीमानदेवाब्द —प्रयुज्यमाना  
 एतानि पिण्डकलिवर्षमाहुः ॥

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum* by Cecil Bendall, (1902), pp. 193-94, 467. No. 3564. Although the opening passage quoted gives the name as *Sumati-tantra*, it is wrongly catalogued as *Sumata*.



“The rest (of the kings), added together, employ the year (era ?) of Mānadeva for 304 (years)—these years are called the collective Kali reckoning.”

Dr. Bendall, not following the chronology of the text, added the figure 418 (after Śaka) to 304 and obtained 800 A. D. as the date of Mānadeva, while Mānadeva begins, according to the system followed in the chronology, when the 498 or 418 period after Śaka ends.

### V.—LICHCHHAVI KINGS

The complete list of the L i c h c h h a v i kings as in the Vamśāvalī may be divided in three parts.

Serial numbers according to the order in the Vamśāvalī. (I.A., XIII. 412; Lévi, ii. 91-92, 122).

#### I

Names noted in Jayadeva II's inscription.

And other inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup>1. Bhūmivarman  
(capital at Bāṇeśvara).

Names Nos. 1, 2, 4-16 purposely omitted in Jayadeva II's insc. (I.A., IX. 178).

<sup>1</sup> Kirkpatrick's authority gives five more names to this dynasty which is unanimously called Śūrya-Vamśī. These five names are given separately by the Vamśāvalī, other than Kirkpatrick's, under Soma-vamśī Dynasty.—This is a wrong division, as the Vamśāvalī themselves note the connexion between Bhāskara-varman (no. 5 and the last) of the so called *Soma vamśa* and Bhūmivarman (no. 1 of the *Sūryavamśa*) as that of adoptive father and son. How could then the Vamśa change?



- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 2.  | Chandravarman  |  |
| 3.  | Jayadeva <sup>1</sup> I  | Jayadeva I according   |
| 4.  | Varsha-varman<br>[Vṛishavarman<br>I K.]  | to J.II's insc. he was<br>founder of the Ne-<br>pal dynasty. An  |
| 5.  | Sarva-varman   | earlier king <i>Supu-</i>  |
| 6.  | Prithvi-varman   | <i>shpa</i> is noted as hav-   |
| 7.  | Jyeshtha-varman  | ing flourished at  |
| 8.  | Hari-varman  | Pushpapura; "omit-   |
| 9.  | Kuvera-varman  | ting 23 Kings" there   |
| 10. | Siddhi-varman  | comes Jayadeva I   |
| 11. | Haridatta (built<br>4 Nārāyana Tem-<br>ples including<br>Changu Nara-<br>yan and Nīlak-<br>anṭha Jalaśaya-<br>na <sup>2</sup> Temples) | 'the victorious.' Then<br>omitting in the inter-<br>val eleven kings,<br>there comes the<br>12th according to the<br>inscription but the<br>18th Vṛishā- |
| 12. | Vasudatta  | deva, according to   |
| 13. | Śrīpati  | the Varṇśāvalī   |
| 14. | Śivavṛiddhi-<br>(varman)   | Śivadeva I <sup>3</sup><br>(I. A., IX.)  |
| 15. | Vasantadeva I  | Dhruvadeva   |
| 16. | Śivadeva I   | I.A., IX. 173  |

<sup>1</sup> 'Jayavarmā' in the Varṇśāvalī which have throughout for nos. 1 to 14 name-ending *varman*. Kirkpatrick's Varṇśāvalī has *deva* from no. 15 onwards, while other copies occasionally add *varman* to *deva*. Inscriptions have always *deva*. I have followed generally K.'s list for name-forms. His copy is the oldest and more valuable.

<sup>2</sup> *Jalaśayana*, a colossal, lying figure of Vishṇu, is a magnificent stone image in Gupta style.

<sup>3</sup> I.A., XIV. 97 (Bendall); I.A., IX. 168 (Bhagwanlal Indraji); Lévi, iii, 61, *Dūtaka*-Bhogavarmagomin, mentioning the request of Amśuvarman; the date is wholly gone. Prof. Lévi insists on reading all figures in Śivadeva's records as 500 ( + ) instead of 300 ( + ) as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bendall and Fleet. The last record has no trace of the date, yet he sees here also 500. The reading 300 ( + ) is corroborated by the figures in records of subsequent kings—of Mānadeva II, Vasantasena, etc. (386, 413, 435) (G.I., I. 180) and by the new, Khopasi, insc. of Śivadeva I published by Lévi himself (iii. 79) where his plate (XII) reads clearly 300 (+20). This also mentions Amśuvarman.



## II

17.	Rudradeva <sup>1</sup> (given by some and omitted by K.)		
18.	Vṛishadeva II (a noted Buddhist pious founder)	(12) Vṛishadeva	Vṛishadeva I.A., IX. 163
19.	Śaṅkaradeva [Revival of Śai- vism (erected a trident at Paśupati) <sup>2</sup>	(13) Śaṅkaradeva	Śaṅkaradeva
20.	Dharmadeva	(14) Dharmadeva	Dharmadeva
21.	Mānadeva	(15) Mānadeva	Mānadeva
22.	Mahīdeva	(16) Mahīdeva	
23.	Vasantadeva II	(17) Vasantadeva	Vasantasena

Jayadeva II omits the first two names of the list and he counts 17 as against (23-2) 20 successions<sup>3</sup> down to Vasantadeva II. There are therefore 3 extra names in the V. list, or, rather 5 if we transpose Mānadeva and Guṇakāmadeva from the part III (see below, and § IV above). These extra names fall between no. 3 Jayadeva I, and no. 18 Vṛishadeva, the later names being confirmed by inscriptions. And as the existence of nos. 16 and 17 (Dhruvadeva) is certain from contemporary records, the excess has to be adjusted between no. 3 and no. 15 taking account of Mānadeva I

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, ii. 92, 95-96, regards him as identical with Śivadeva and thinks that the name is transposed from the Malla list.

<sup>2</sup> The trident is still existing. The big metal Nandi, attributed to him by some Vamśāvalīs to his son, is also still there.

<sup>3</sup> The Vamśāvalīs regard the successions as from father to son in each case, which is to be ignored unless confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions or contemporary writers.



and Guṇakāmadeva. According to the inscription of Jayadeva II and the evidence on Mānadeva I and Guṇakāmadeva the kings have to be numbered thus:

1. Jayadeva I (c. 350 A.D.)
- 2-7. Six kings (which should include Haridatta, see below), against 11 of the Vamśāvalīs
8. Vasantadeva I
9. Mānadeva I, 576 A.D. (see § IV)
10. Guṇakāmadeva
11. Śivadeva I—635-639 A.D. (Khopasi insc. 320 G. E.)
- 11a. Dhruvadeva c. 643 A.D. (Jishṇu Gupta's insc. of yr. 48) not taken into account probably owing to his being an unlawful successor
12. Vṛishadeva
13. Śaṅkaradeva
14. Dharmadeva, 705 A.D.
15. Mānadeva II, 705, 732 A.D.
16. Mahīdeva
17. Vasantadeva II, 735 A.D. [G.E. 415<sup>1</sup>; dead in 732 A.D., yr. 153, *āsīt*]

Out of Nos. 4 to 14 of the Vamśāvalīs (wherein the extra five names must fall), Haridatta, no. 11, must be a correct name. Vaishṇavism was introduced into his reign and his Vaishṇava monuments can still be identified. Although the present temple of Chaṅgu Nārāyan is much later but that the shrine must go back to about his time is proved by the inscription

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the figure is 415, not 435; cf. plate 2 in I.A., IX, with plate 3.



of Mānadeva II on the dhvaja standard at Chaṅgu-nārāyan, which is in early Gupta style<sup>1</sup>, and, by the grand J a l a ś a y a n a figure at Nīlakaṇṭha which is again typically Guptan, and which is mentioned by Amśuvarman in his Harigaon inscription of year 32.<sup>2</sup> As to the other names we have at present no means to check and to accept or reject. But there should be a presumption of correctness in their favour, as a very high percentage of data in the lists of the Vamśāvalīs is proved to be correct. The number of 11 princes of the list as against 6 out of the unnamed 11 of the inscription of Jayadeva II means that between Jayadeva I and Vasantadeva I (no. 1 to 8 of my list above) the first eight kings, there were two contemporary lines ruling as in the later period. This system of double rule seems to have been borrowed from the home constitution of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī.

The Vamśāvalīs after their no. 23 present a great confusion, which has been already solved with the help of the inscriptions to some extent, and the solution can be carried further with the help of new data.

### III

This portion of the so-called Lichchhavi list I am marking as part III. The list is a mixture of the names of the EARLY THĀKURĪ Dynasty with some names of the Lichchhavis transposed and

<sup>1</sup> It is also mentioned by Amśuvarman at Harigaon (Lévi, iii. 94).

<sup>2</sup> Lines 14-15 (Lévi, iii. 95).



names of one more dynasty, 'Gupta-Ahīr', that is, the Later Guptas of Nepal (see § 6—7).

*Vamśāvalī list*

Kirkpatrick, 260; Bhagwanlal Indraji, 13 I.A. 413.  
Wright, 124—130; Lévi, ii. 92, 122.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 24.   | Udayadeva  |
| 25.   | Mānadeva   |
| 26.   | Guṇakāmdeva  |
| 27.   | <i>Sivadeva</i> ('transferred the seat of government to Devapātana')   |
| 28.   | Narendradeva   |
| 29.   | Bhīmadeva varman   |
| According to K's V.,<br>Gupta<br>Dynasty of<br>Ahīr caste | { 30. Vishṇu gupta (K) (Vishṇudeva varman—others)  |
|   | { 31. Viśva Gupta (Viśvavarman—others) gave his daughter in marriage to <i>Amśvarman</i> , founder of the Thākuri Dynasty. |
|   | { K's <i>Vam.</i> gives after no. 30—  |
|   | { 31. Kishnu Gupta   |
|   | { 32. Bhūmi Gupta  |

33. *Sivadeva* expelled the Guptas; and restored the Sūryavamśī (the Lichchhavi) dynasty (K.)  
A m ś u v a r m a n [595—539 + (?) A.D.]

Against this we have the following succession from inscriptions (I.A., IX. 170, 174, 178).

[*Vam.*] *Inscriptions*

- [24.] Udayadeva, (*Yuvarāja* in yr. 39) deposed by his younger brother (Chinese History).  
[25.] Mānadeva (III) (evidently brother of 24, as 27 Narendradeva, restored by Tibetans, was son of 24).



[28.] Narendradeva [ruling from 634 to 657, according to Chinese (Thang) History].

[29.] *Sivadeva II.*, yr. 119.

J a y a d e v a II, yr. 153 (Vamśāvalī omits him).

The order in V. between 27 and 28 is transposed, and Guṇakāmadeva is brought down from below Mānadeva I (above Sivadeva I) to be placed below no. 25 Mānadeva III, above Sivadeva II.

These are all later than A m ś u v a r m a n whose last date in inscriptions is in the year 44 (or 45). These are all, as we shall see presently, Ṭhākūrī names. J a y a d e v a II, son of Narendradeva, is neither in the Ṭhākūrī list nor the Lichchhavi list of the Vamśāvalī. The reason for this is explained in the Ṭhākūrī section. A m ś u v a r m a n has been placed in the V. list after Ś i v a d e v a II who lived about the year 119. There is fortunately only one A m ś u v a r m a n and we easily detect the mistake. There have been two mistakes. No. 25 and 26 have been removed from their place above Ś i v a d e v a I to be placed, above Ś i v a d e v a II. A m ś u v a r m a n's history is transferred to the time of Ś i v a d e v a II from Ś i v a d e v a I which is evident from K.'s copy. In the eighteenth century, Vamśāvalī copies still preserved the close association of the history of Ś i v a d e v a I and A m ś u v a r m a n, and Kirkpatrick's copy for that reason introduced even a third Sivadeva (no. 33). But later editions noting (correctly) only two Ś i v a d e v a s, cut A m ś u v a r m a n off from Ś i v a d e v a altogether owing to their insertion of several names (nos. 30, 31,



32) above Amśuvarman's, which fortunately for us Kirkpatrick's copy specially notes as names of an intervening family who were defeated by Śivadeva I. That Śivadeva II can not be a contemporary of Amśuvarman is clear from the dated inscription of Śivadeva II (of the year 119) and from the date of his father known to us from Chinese History based on contemporary writings.

Now as to the "Guptas" who were expelled by Śivadeva I according to Kirkpatrick's *Vamśāvalī*, is there any trace of theirs in the inscriptions?

These Guptas seem to be the ancestors of Jishṇu Gupta whose inscriptions we have as nos. 9, 10, and 11 of Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX. 171, 173). A new inscription of his is published by Lévi (*Nepal*, iii. 102, pl. XVII; *Thankot* inscription). The last one bears the date (samvat) 44(40 + 4)<sup>1</sup> the figure for 40 is distinct (line 30th). The writ was dated while *Bhaṭṭāraka* (Sovereign) Śrī Mānadeva [II] was '*the banner of the enthroned family*' at Mānagrīha; it was issued by Śrī Jishṇu Gupta Deva from Kailāsakūṭabhavana<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to imagine how could Prof. Lévi read 500! I am giving an enlarged copy of the portion (beginning of line 30) from his plate. See my plate VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Kailāsakūṭa* was the seat of the Dictator, and *Mānagrīha* was the seat of the nominal king. Amśuvarman built this famous Palace Kailāsakūṭa, of which he is very proud in his Sanga insc. (Lévi, iii 99). His family after him ruled from it (we have reference to it in inscriptions down to the time of Śivadeva II (9I.A. 174), while the Lichchhavis lived at their Palace Mānagrīha, (G.I, I, 188-189) built evidently by Mānadeva I (576 A.D.—) as Amśuvarman named one of the gates of his own palace after *Mānagrīha*. In this inscription we have the novel position that Mānadeva (II), a younger son of



It confirmed a donation, the document of which had been lost; it was originally made by the great grandfather (*prapitāmaha*) of Jishṇu Gupta, whose name was Mānagupta Gomin. It refers to certain taxes payable in *kārshāpaṇas* and one of the taxes was *Malla-kara*. This had been evidently imposed to meet the incursions of the Mallas which were put an end to by Mānadeva III who in his Chaṅgu Nārāyan inscription says that he crossed the Gaṇḍakī with his cavalry and elephants and conquered the Malla towns (Lévi, iii, 14)<sup>1</sup>.

Mānagupta Gomin must have been a subordinate ruler having Thankot, i.e. the beginning of the valley, under his jurisdiction. The title *gomin* meant in Gupta times 'honourable'

Amśuvarman and a younger brother of Udayadeva (§ IX) is installed by Jishṇu Gupta (who calls himself 'king,' '*deva*') at Mānagrīha and he himself takes his residence at Kailāsakūṭa. This shows that Kailāsakūṭa was the official seat of the official Dictator.

For the time being by the above arrangement the Lichchhavi Dynasty was wholly dispossessed on the death of Amśuvarman. But this was only for a year or so, for soon after we find the Lichchhavi king Dhruvadeva at Mānagrīha once more during the Dictatorship of Jishṇu Gupta. Jishṇu Gupta in both cases was the real ruler, and although the Vamśavalis ignore him, he is noted as king by the Mañjuśrī History (§ VI).

The family emblem of the Thākuriś was Nandi seated on Kailāsakūṭa—see plate 12, I.A, IX.

The latest mention of Mānagrīha is found in the Isapaligaon inscription of the year 489—808 A.D. published by Lévi in his volume iii, pl. VIII, p. 59. [This inscription, where the writing is distinctly much advanced, most effectively destroys the theory of Lévi to read the date figures in Śivadeva I's inscriptions as 500 +, instead of 300 + as read by Bhagwanlal and confirmed by Fleet and Bendall].

<sup>1</sup> This text (lines 22-25) was recovered from the buried portion of the pillar, not available to Bhagwanlal Indraji.



and is used as a name-ending in respectable names—e.g. *Chandra gomin*, the Grammarian, *Bhogavarmagomin* in Amśuvarman's inscription. Māna Gupta is not described as a king, or given any title. The two generations before Jishṇu Gupta would cover the two names Vishṇu Gupta (no. 30) and Viśva Gupta (31), the latter being the father-in-law of Amśuvarman, whose place in K.'s Vams. is given to Bhūmi-Gupta (32). Viśva Gupta and Bhūmi-Gupta were the last of the Nepal Guptas, and Śivadeva I defeated them and "restored" the Lichchhavi dynasty. Evidently the Lichchhavi dynasty had suffered an eclipse at the hands of these 'the Ahīr' Guptas, probably in the time of or just after Guṇakāmadeva I, as no coin is struck by Śivadeva I.

Jishṇu Gupta described himself (under Mānadeva II) as an ornament of the moon dynasty (*Somānvaya-bhūshaṇa*) and as having succeeded to a hereditary throne. Kirkpatrick's authority relates that these 'Aheer' Guptas were a branch of the Goalā Guptas. But the Nepal Guptas claimed to be Kshatriyas of the Moon Dynasty. The Moon Standard on the coins of the Imperial Guptas implies the same claim. Jishṇu Gupta is not mentioned in the Vamśāvalīs or the inscriptions of the Lichchhavis or the Thākurīs. Officially he was the Dictator; his *Yuvarāja* Vishṇu Gupta did not come to the throne. The way he refers to Amśuvarman [*śrī Amśuvarmapādaiḥ*, IA, IX. 172] shows that he was related to him, evidently through the latter's marriage



with Viśva Gupta's daughter. Jishnu-Gupta seems to have been the son of Viśva Gupta. He to make room for himself in the Lichchhavi constitution—for the position which had been occupied by Amśuvarman, and which lasted up to the year 320 (639 A.D.) when Śivadeva I inscribed his last known order—seems to have removed Mānadeva II, the usurper, the second son of Amśuvarman, and set up Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi in the brief period of his total dictatorship of 3 or 4 years. In the inscription under the sovereignty of Dhruvadeva (IA, IX. 171) he protests that he belongs to a pious family (*punyāwya*) and that his rule is supported by the Pauras (*paurā śritaśāsana*), which probably implies commotion about the year 48 (643 A.D.) when very soon he was going to be dispossessed by Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva. Both he and Dhruvadeva are ignored in the Vaṁśāvalī and Thākūrī inscriptions, as usurpers. Except for the Mañjuśrī History<sup>1</sup> we have had no reference to him in literature. He imitates the coins of Amśuvarman.

Dhruvadeva did not belong to the direct Lichchhavi line and his selection as king must have been at the cost of Vṛishadeva. There is no coin of Dhruvadeva; the right of coinage was exercised by Jishnu Gupta.

We can date the order of succession of this part thus, taking Udayadeva the *Yuvarāja* as the eldest son of Amśuvarman:

<sup>1</sup> See below, § VI.



<i>Lichchhavis</i>	<i>Guptas</i>	<i>Thākūrīs</i>
Dhruvadeva (643 A.D.) <sup>1</sup>	JishṇuGupta with his Yuvarāja	Udayadeva Mānadeva II
Vṛishadeva	VishṇuGupta (yr. 48)	(between yrs. 44 and 48)

Śaṅkaradeva

Dharmadeva [upto 705,  
defeated and killed the  
Tibetan in 705 A.D.,  
(JRAS, 1880, 438) and  
set up four Pillars of  
Victory]

Mānadeva III, 386 GE.

(=705-732)

Mahīdeva (after 413 GE. =  
732 A.D.)

Vasantadeva 415 GE.

(=734 A.D.)

Narendradeva

(643-657)<sup>1</sup>

Sivadeva II,

yr. 119 (714  
A.D.)<sup>2</sup>

Jayadeva II,

yr. 153  
(748 A.D.)

J a y a d e v a II after detailing the Lichchhavi family from Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva II gives '*within*' (*asya antare*) the period of this dynasty (*varṇāsya*) his own genealogy contemporary with those Lichchhavi kings. He naturally omitted the interlopers J i s h ṇ u - G u p t a, M ā n a d e v a III, and D h r u v a d e v a. Owing to D h r u v a d e v a intervening between

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, ii, 164. Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva, succeeded with the help of the Tibetans and was ruling in 643, while the year (48) in which the reign of Dhruvadeva is dated, also corresponds to 643 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> His reign (714 A.D.) falling 57 years after his father's, he must have been a baby on the death of his father.



Sivadeva I and Vṛishadeva, the Lichchhavi kings are taken up from Vṛishadeva, and after finishing that line the contemporaries—the Ṭhākūrīs—are given, which necessitates the omission of Amśuvarman. The descendants of Amśuvarman probably imply a claim to be Lichchhavis by the inscription of Jayadeva II. This is explained by the statement in some Vamśāvalīs (cited in Landon's *Nepal*, ii. 315) that Amśuvarman had been adopted as son by Śivadeva I. This seems to explain the anomalous position of the Ṭhākūrīs both in the inscription of Jayadeva II (IA, IX. 178) and the Vamśāvalī list. This also explains the revolutions in the time of JishnuGupta, Mānadeva II and Dhruvadeva.

When Jayadeva II wrote his inscription in the year 153=748 A.D. the Lichchhavi dynasty had already become extinct with the death of Vasantadeva II who is mentioned as a past king [*āsīt*]. In the reign of Jayadeva II, the Ṭhākūrīs alone come to possess the whole kingdom solely. We do not find any trace in inscriptions or in the Vamśāvalīs of any successor of Vasantadeva II in the Lichchhavi line.

The mysterious reason for omitting 11 Lichchhavi kings between Jayadeva I and Vṛishadeva is the well-established Hindu historical custom (as in the Purāṇas) to omit names of kings in a dynasty when they cease to be independent. The Guptas exercised dominion over Nepal from Samudra Gupta downwards. Hence we find only Jayadeva I mentioned, who according to the chronology set out above and



calculated also by Fleet, flourished in the time of Samudra Gupta. For the time of Samudra Gupta we have his Allahabad inscription proving that Nepal was one of the tributary states in the class which were in close touch with the Imperial Government, paying regular tribute (*kara*). There is nothing to indicate that there happened any change in that condition under Chandragupta II and his immediate imperial successors. Either in the reign of Kumāragupta I or Skandagupta, we find Haradatta establishing Vaishnavism in Nepal and actually copying Gupta architecture. His pillar of Garuḍa has the exact formula of Gupta pillars<sup>1</sup> and the Garuḍa is a copy of the Guptan Garuḍa<sup>2</sup>—a human figure with wigs,—which implies that Haradattadeva was owning the imperial Gupta suzerainty. When the Gupta Empire breaks up on account of the rise of the empire of the Maukharis (c. 550 A.D.—570 A.D.) we find Mānadeva I (576 A.D.) striking his own coin in Nepal. But this attempt was short-lived, for we

<sup>1</sup> See description in IA, IX. 163. "Its lower half is square, half of the upper part is octagonal, higher up it becomes sixteen-cornered, and finally round." It is about 20 ft. high.

An inscription was inscribed on it later by Mānadeva III, while the pillar stood. It has no reference to the pillar itself. The shrine existed before Amśuvarman who made a provision for it in his Harigaon writ of year 32 (Lévi, iii. 94, line 7; the original name was *Dolaśikharasvāmin*, the hill being called *dola*, 'swing').

I found fragments of Gupta sculptures there and have brought one piece to the Patna Museum.

For Gupta writing of the fourth and fifth centuries in Nepal, see Bendall's *Journey*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> That is the Garudamadanka.



find the Nepal Guptas asserting sovereignty in the last quarter of the 6th century—an assertion which lasted down to the time of Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman.

Out of this list these names mark changes in the religious history of Nepal :

Haridatta (deva)—about 450 A.D., like the Imperial Guptas in the plains made Vaishṇavism the royal cult of Nepal.

Mānadeva I to Vṛishadeva—Buddhism reigned supreme after the Imperial Gupta influence, disappeared in the reign of Mānadeva I (576 A.D.). Coming after the Śaiva Amśuvarman who patronised Buddhism merely as a ruler, Vṛishadeva about 660 A.D. made Buddhism again popular (*Sugataśāsana-pakṣha-pāṭī*, I.A., IX. 178). But his son Saṅkaradeva, about 680 A.D., is regarded as a second Saṅkarāchārya for having revived Śaivism at the cost of Buddhism. He has left his monuments at Paśupati and is universally credited by the Buddhists to have abolished monasticism in Nepal Buddhism (Mahāyāna), forcing every *Bhikṣu* to lead married life. There have been no wifeless Bhikṣhus in Nepal ever since; the vihāras are occupied by married Buddhist priests.

After Saṅkaradeva the Lichchhavis remain markedly Śaiva and Vaishṇavite.

The greatest figure in the period is Dharmadeva. His son Mānadeva III, who in the very year of his accession (705 A.D.) marched against the Mallas, to meet whom since the time of Śivadeva I (yr. 320, Lévi, iii, 69, 107) there had been a



*Malla-kara* impost in Nepal, records that his father had set up four Pillars of Victory. The reason for this we get from Tibetan History as recorded by the Chinese (translated in JRAS, 1880; 438, 456). The king of Nepal snapped the Tibetan suzerainty brought over Nepal by *Narendra deva* (643-657 A.D.). He gave battle to the Tibetan king (Ch'inush silung) and killed him (705 A.D.).

We find *Sivadeva* II employing imperial title in his inscription of 714 A.D., which means that *Mānadeva* III in his later years was reduced to the position of a *rājan* (as in his inscriptions), the real power passing to the *Thākuri* line. It was during the minority of *Sivadeva* II that *Vṛishadeva*, *Śaṅkaradeva* and *Dharmadeva* revived the *Lichchhavi* line and its prestige.

#### VI—DATA OF THE MANJUSRI HISTORY ON NEPAL

On the history of Nepal we have a valuable source in the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* in its book on Indian History. The text, edited with the help of the Tibetan translation [my *Mañjuśrī Imperial History*, § 12, p. 40] is as follows :

भविष्यति तदा काले उत्तरां दिशिमाश्रुतः ।

नेपालमण्डले ख्याते हिमाद्रेः कुक्षिमाश्रिते ॥५४९॥

राजा मानवेन्द्रस्तु लिच्छवीनां कुलोद्भवः ।

सोऽपि मन्त्रार्थ-सिद्धस्तु महाभोगी भविष्यति ॥५५०॥

विद्या भोगवती नाम तस्य सिद्धा नराधिपे ।

अशीतिवर्षाणि कृत्वासौ राज्यं तस्करवर्जितम् ॥५५१॥

ततः प्राणात्यये नृपतौ स्वर्गलोके जजग्मसु ।

तत्र मन्त्राशु सिद्धयन्ति शीतला शान्तिकपीडिका ॥५५२॥



तारा च लोकविख्याता देवी पण्डरवासिनी ।  
 महाश्वेता परहितोद्युक्ता अखिलमनसां सदा ॥५५३॥  
 इत्येवमादयो प्रोक्ता बहुधा नृपतयोस्तदा ।  
 अनेकधा बहुधाश्चैव नानारूपविवर्णिताः ॥५५४॥  
 शास्तृपूजकास्तेऽपि म्लेच्छराजान् है ।

T.453 b. वविषः सुवृषश्चैव भावसु शुभसुस्तथा ॥५५५॥

भाक्रमः पदक्रमश्चैव कमलश्चैव कीर्त्यते ।

भागुप्तः वत्सकश्चैव (भास्वाश्चैव) पश्चिमः ॥५५६॥

[§ 12 b. Fall of Nepal]

G.६२२ उदयः जिह्नुनो ह्यन्ते म्लेच्छानां विविधास्तथा ।

अम्भोधेः भ्रष्टमर्यादा बहिःप्राज्ञोपभोजिनः ॥५५७॥

शस्त्रसम्पातविध्वस्ता नेपालाधिपतिस्तदा ।

विद्यालुप्ता लुप्तराजानो म्लेच्छतस्करसेविनः ॥५५८॥

५४९, देववन् (ल्ह-ल्दन्) । ५५०. मानवदेवस्तु । ५५४. नृपतयस्तदा ।  
 ५५५. हिमवद्वासिनः । वृषः । भूभासः सुभूभासस्तथा । ५५६. पराक्रमः  
 (फ-रोल्-ग्नोद्-जिद्) । भूगुप्तः (स-स्रुङ्क=भूपालः) । ५५७. डङ्क-छुल्  
 (शीली, जिष्णुः) । ततः परं (दे-डोग्) । परपुरुषोपसेविनः (फिच-रोल्-  
 स्क्वये द्गुप्स्त-जो-वर्-स्योद्) । ५५८. विलुप्तास्तत्र राजानो । ५५९.  
 देव-द्विज-प्रियाः ।

[§ 12 c. Revival of Nepal]

अनेका भूपतयो प्रोक्ता नाना चैव द्विजप्रिया ।

भविष्यन्ति तदा काले चीनं प्राप्य समन्ततः ॥५५९॥

The Mañjuśrī History (§ 12, text, p. 40) says :

- (1) At that time in the North, in Nepāla-maṇḍala, in the valley of the Himālaya, there will be king *Māna-vendra* (read *Māna-deva*) born of the dynasty of the Lichchhavis. He would be very prosperous (*mahābhogī*)—the Vidyā Bhogavatī will be established in that king. For eighty years he ruled and made the country free from robbers (549-551) (*Here follow the names of certain goddesses* (552-553).



- (2) Then there will be various (*bahudhā*) kings (*dynasties*) several and various (*anekadhā* and *bahudhā*), of various castes (? *nānā-rūpa-vivarṇitāḥ*)—they will be all Buddhists, and foreigners (*mlechcha-rājānaḥ*; Tibetan : Himālayan races or residents).
- (3) *Vṛisha*; *Suvṛisha*; *Bhāvasu* (T.—*Bhūbhāsa*); *Subhasu* (T.—*Subhūbhāsa*); *Bhākrāma* (T.—*Parākrāma*); *Kamala*; *Bhāgupta* (T.—*Bhūgupta*); *Vatsaka*; [*Aṃśuvarman*, T.—*Bhāsvān*] the Western (535-56).
- (4) *Udaya* and *Jishnu* in the end. After that (Tibetan-*tataḥ param*) there arose several kings under the Mlechchhas who broke all rules (*bhraṣṭa-maryādā*) and were dependants of outsiders (T.) (557).
- (5) Then the overlord of Nepal (*Nepalādhīpatiḥ*) was defeated and killed in battle (by arms); the kings who had lost Vidyās, servants of the Mlechchha robbers, disappeared. There will be several kings, lovers of (Hindu) Gods and Brahmins, having |China (Tibet) on their frontier (558-559).

The above data are highly important, as they give a tale different from the *Varṇśāvalī*, and in accord with Chinese history and inscriptions. Section (1) gives the successful rule of *Mānadeva I*. His goddess *Bhogavatī* is undoubtedly the *Śrī-Bhoginī* on the *Mānāṅka* coin. Section (2) mentions various contemporary dynasties which rose to power in Nepal after *Mānadeva I*. One of them is headed and represented by *Vṛisha* in whom we may recognize the Lichchhavi *Vṛishadeva*. *Bhāvasu* *Subhasu*, *Bhākrāma* and *Kamala* seems to represent some Kirāta family, while *Bhūgupta* corresponds to the *Varṇśāvalī* *Bhūmigupta*, the last of the 'Aheer Guptas', who was defeated by *Śivadeva I* or *Aṃśuvarman* whom *Śivadeva I* credits with victories on his



enemies. *Vatsaka* is unrecorded otherwise, but seems to be connected with *Bhūgupta*. Another contemporary is *Amśuvarman* (of the West) whose name is lost in the Sanskrit text but is supplied from the Tibetan translation. We find *Amśuvarman* in his inscriptions ruling over the Government (*adhikaraṇa*) of the West. It seems that apart from the Guptas there arose at least one more local family to power, and the kingdom after *Mānadeva I* was sorely torn to pieces, and that it was reunited by *Amśuvarman* under *Śivadeva*. *Amśuvarman* set up the government of the West with full powers of sovereignty. *Vṛishadeva* and *Amśuvarman* are treated as contemporaries.

(4) *Udaya* and *Jishnu* (*Gupta*) are placed at the end of this list and noted to have been the last independent sovereigns of Nepal. After *Jishnu* the country passed under the domination of the *Mlechchhas*, i.e. the Tibetans, until the overlord of Nepal, that is, the Tibetan king, was killed in battle. Then followed Brahmanical kings—a description fully true of the kings from *Dharmadeva* to *Vasanta [sena]*, *Śivadeva II* and *Jayadeva II*. The defeat and killing of the Tibetan overlord (705 A. D.) is borne out by Chinese History (JRAS, 1880, 438; V. Smith, EH., 381).

Who was *Vatsaka*?

We have seen that the two Gupta lists in the *Vamśāvalis* really constitute one series.<sup>1</sup> The first

<sup>1</sup> See section VII of this study.



list is from Jaya Gupta I to Jaya Gupta II—8 rulers (Lévi, II, 72; IA, VII. 89). Jaya Gupta II settled down, according to Kirkpatrick's *Vamśāvalī*, near Janakpur (Tarai). His name is omitted in the Nepal list by other *Vamśāvalīs*, where *Yaksha Gupta* is the last Nepal Gupta. We find base gold and copper coins of Jaya Gupta II (in characters of circa 600 A. D.), and a mould to forge his gold coins has been discovered in Nālandā excavations this year. This verifies the truth of the *Vamśāvalī* datum about the Gupta dynasty of Nepal. The *Vamśāvalīs* have the following kings in the two lists:—

(Bhagwanlal, Wright, Lévi)

(Kirkpatrick)

[within the Lichchhavi list]

*Bhīmadeva*    *Bhīmadeva* (displaced by  
Aheers, IA,  
VII. 90)

*Vishṇudeva*    *Vishṇu Gupta*

which corresponds with the Gupta list

5. *Bhīma Gupta*
6. *Matī* (or, *Maṇi*) *Gupta*
7. *Vishṇu Gupta*

It seems that up to *Bhīma Gupta* there was one line of the Guptas who were displaced by the other line beginning with *Vishṇu Gupta*. *Matī-Gupta* or *Maṇi Gupta* was a prince of the displaced line.

Kirkpatrick's *Vamśāvalī* gives two more names after *Vishṇu Gupta*

*Kisnu Gupta*

*Bhūmi Gupta*



These names are not found in the other Vamśāvalīs, probably *Kishnu Gupta* is a misreading and duplication of *Vishṇu Gupta*, but *Bhūmi Gupta* is supported by the Mañjuśrī History which has

*Bhū Gupta*

*Vatsaka*

In the other list the Vamśāvalīs after Vishṇu Gupta have

*Yaksha Gupta*

It seems that after Vishṇu Gupta there were probably two branches:

Vishṇu Gupta  
|  
┌───────────┐  
Yaksha Gupta      Bhūmi Gupta

That is, *Yaksha Gupta* of the Vamśāvalīs would correspond with the *Vatsaka* of the Mañjuśrīmūla kalpa. *Vatsaka* seems to be a nickname.

Now we are helped here by Nepal coins on the identification of *Yaksha Gupta*. We know from the description of Nepal coinage in the Chinese History that in 643 A. D. the Chinese noticed the coin which agrees exclusively with the coin of *Vaiśravaṇa*—‘*man on one side, and bull on the other.*’<sup>1</sup> This coin therefore must belong to a king who flourished before 643 A. D. He thus would be either a contemporary or a predecessor of Amśuvarman. There is no doubt that Amśuvarman imitates this coin by adopting *Kāmadobhī*<sup>2</sup> (*Kāmadhenu*) with the calf at udders on his

<sup>1</sup> See below sec. VIII. The reading on the *Vaiśravaṇa* coin is *Vaiśravaṇaḥ*—see plate I. 4 of Mr. Walsh, JRAS, 1908, 669.

<sup>2</sup> Not *Kāmadehī*, as formerly read. The corrected reading is by the Rājaguru Pt. Hemarāja Śarmā. *Kāmadobhī* = Skt. *Kāma-*



coin. The coin must therefore belong either to Śivadeva I or some other contemporary. The legend on the coin *Vaiśravaṇaḥ* suggests that it was struck by *Yaksha Gupta*. '*Vaiśravaṇa*' may very well stand as rebus, as *Vaiśravaṇa* is the king of the Yakshas. His nickname *Vatsaka* ('little calf') probably originated from his representation on the coin as the little calf attached to the *Kāmadhenu*. It is also possible that he had a second official name as *Vaiśravaṇa*.

The Gupta list would stand thus—

#### NEPAL

5	Bhīma Gupta	c. 575 A. D.
7	Vishṇu Gupta	c. 600 A. D.
8	Bhūmi Gupta	c. 625 A. D.
8a	Yaksha Gupta	c. 625 A. D.
[Tarāi]		
8b	Jaya Gupta II	c. 625 or 640 A. D.

#### VII—THE GUPTA DYNASTIES OF NEPAL

There are two *Gupta* Dynasties noted in Nepal histories, and both are confirmed by coins and other evidence. The coins establish their connexion with the Imperial Guptas.

All the *Vaṁśāvalīs* state that the history of Nepal begins with the '*Gupta Dynasty*' who were of the *Goālā* caste [Sanskritised in some as *gopāla*]<sup>1</sup>.

*dhuk*. It represents the country [of Nepal]—cf. the political maxim :

राजन् दुधुक्षसि यदि क्षितिधेनुमेनां तेनाद्य वत्समिव लोकममुं पुषाण ।

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *History of Nepāl*, 107-109; Bhagwanlal Indraji, XIII, IA, 411-12; Lévi, *Nepal*, ii. 72, 74; Cf. Kirkpatrick,



This dynasty which is specifically given the name of the Gupta Dynasty, consists of eight names and its first name is lost which is replaced by a phrase *bhukta-mānagata* meaning 'the elapsed years of the reign.' After this dynasty the Vamśāvalīs introduce a dynasty of three names and call them the Aheers (Ahīrs) 'from the plains of Hindustan.' The oldest authority, namely the one cited by Kirkpatrick in 1793 A. D., definitely says that they were Rajpūt descendants from *Mahīpa Gopāla* (King Cowherd), that they levied their army in the country situated between Simraongarh and Janakpur (Tarai) and entered and subjugated Nepal. This authority therefore states that the so-called Ahīrs were only a branch of the dynasty which Kirkpatrick has left unnamed and which is officially designated as the *Gupta Dynasty* in the Vamśāvalīs. There is thus no distinction historically between the Goālās and Ahīrs, as there is none between the two terms—*Goālā* and *Ahīr*. The descendants of these so-called Ahīrs are once more given in the Lichchhavi list above Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman, by whom they were finally driven out of Nepal. There are therefore practically two lists of these Guptas (the Goālā-Ahīrs). Their chronology may be calculated back from the known date of Amśuvarman and Śivadeva I. When the Nepal histories say that the Gupta-Ahīr line was broken by the Kirātas it should be taken to refer to a Kirāta revival three generations above Amśuvarman. The introduction into the Gupta-Ahīr-Amśuvarman

*Historical Sketch of Nepal* in his *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (1811), 255-257.



chronology, of the long line of the Kirātas who flourished before and after Aśoka is a result of confusion. The two Kirāta lines—(1) the pre-Christ Kirātas and (2) the pre-Amśuvarman Kirātas—have been mixed up together. Nepal History should have and would have begun with the Kirāta Dynasty and not with the Guptas but for that confusion. The Kirātas who intervene just before the line of Amśuvarman are called “Yellung Kirāta” in Kirkpatrick and *Ya-laniva* in Lévi’s edition<sup>1</sup> which is treated as the proper name of the first king. *Ya-laniva* is most likely the ethnic name *Limbu*, a well-known division of the Kirātas still on the eastern frontiers of Nepal. The next name *Pavi* of the Vaniśāvalī is noted in the Mañjuśrī History (p. 40, text)<sup>2</sup> as *Vavi-sha*, placed between *Mān a d e v a* I and *V ṛ i s h a* (*d e v a*), as a Himālayan Mlechchha and Buddhist by religion.

The Gupta lists and their chronology should be arranged as follows :

(A)

1. Jaya Gupta I
  2. Parama Gupta
  3. Harsha Gupta
  4. Bhīma Gupta
  5. Mati [or Maṇi] Gupta
  6. Vishṇu Gupta
  7. Yaksha Gupta
- Jaya Gupta II [K.]

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, ii. 78, corresponding to *Ya-Lambasa* of Wright.

<sup>2</sup> See extract in § VI above.



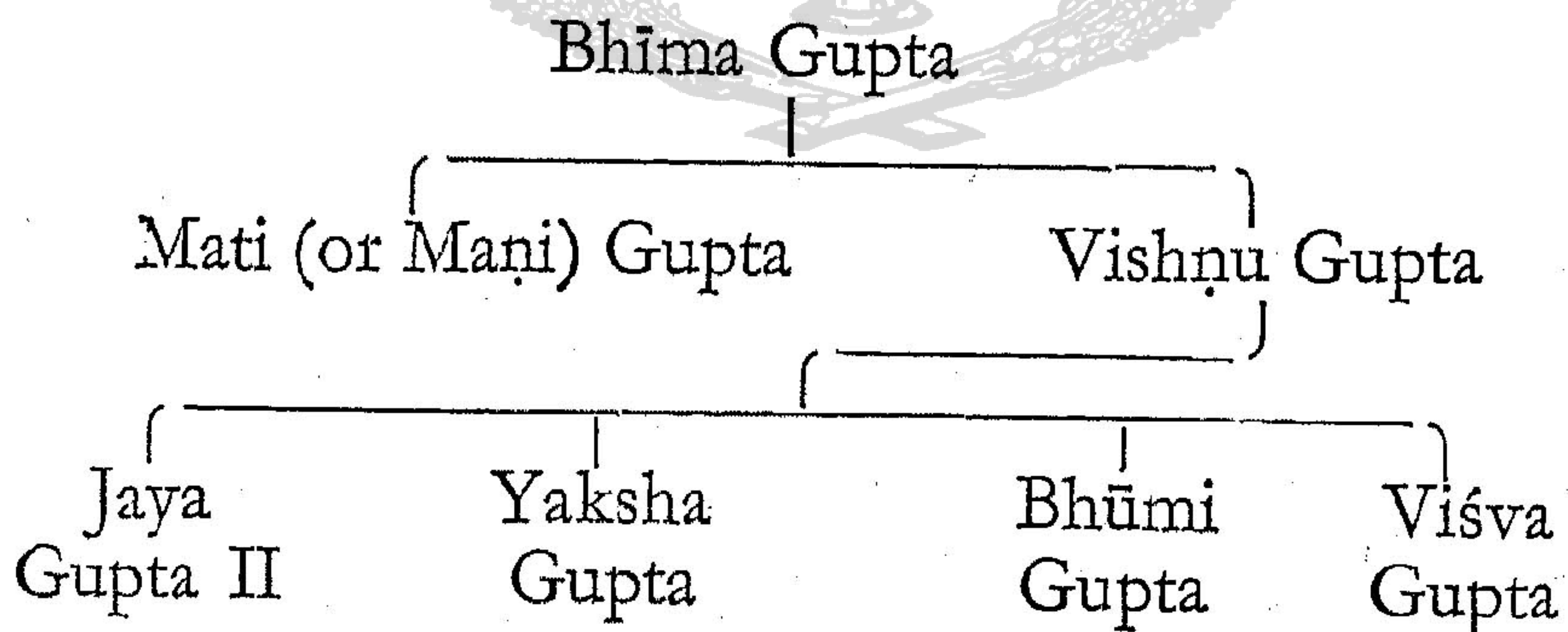
(B) *Branch of the above*

1. Vara-simha
2. Jaya-Mati simha [Jaya-Simha K.]
3. Bhowany (K.) or  
Bhuvana-simha.

(C) *Their descendants, mentioned in the Lichchhavi list<sup>1</sup>*

1. Bhīma (deva)
2. [Vishṇu Gupta (K.); *Vishṇu deva*-others]  
[Kishnoo Gupta (only in K.)]
3. Viśva Gupta (L.) (*Viśva deva*-others; father-in-law  
of Aṁśuvarman)
4. Bhūmi Gupta (only in K.) but confirmed by  
Mañjuśrī History, which gives Bhū Gupta as a  
contemporary of Aṁśuvarman

It seems that from *Bhīma Gupta* (A, no. 4; C, 1) lines branched off. No. 6 of A corresponds with no. 2 of C; and no. 5 of A corresponds with no. 2 of B.



The dates assignable to the Gupta dynasty of Nepal, composed of section A and C, would be :

<sup>1</sup> Bhagwanlal Indraji, XIII, *IA*, 412, ii. Lévi 74, Wright, 109, Kirkpatrick, 256.

<sup>1</sup> 13 *IA* 413; 2 Lévi 122; Wright, 130; Kirkpatrick, 260-61.



Jayagupta I	c. 500 A.D.	
Parama Gupta	c. 525 A.D.	
Harsha Gupta,	c. 550 A.D.	
Bhīma Gupta	c. 575 A.D.	dispossessed by the Lichchavis [probably by M ā n a d e v a I who succeeded in 576 A.D.]
Vishnu Gupta	c. 600 A.D.	He actually reigned in the valley; his endowment <i>Vishnu-nātha</i> still exists 8 miles north of Kathmandu <sup>1</sup>
Jaya Gupta II		
Yaksha Gupta		
Viśva Gupta		
Bhūmi Gupta		

c. 625 A.D. the time of the conquest of Amśuvarman under Sivadeva I who is noted to have expelled them

As to the position of Section B, it is certain that they had their seat in the Tarai. There being no room for them from 500 A.D. to 600 A.D.—they, —another branch of the same family—the *Mahāpāla gopāla* i.e. the 'Imperial Guptas'—must come after Jaya Gupta II, when the family was dispossessed in Nepal, in other words, after 625 A.D.

### VIII—COINAGE

#### *Coins of Nepal Guptas*

This is confirmed by the gold coins of V a r a s i m h a which have been assigned to the seventh century, Allan opining that they '*cannot be before the*

<sup>1</sup> Kirkpatrick, 191.



*seventh century; nothing is known of their attribution.* The coins are illustrated in V. Smith's Catalogue of the Indian Museum, pl. xvi. 14. and Allan's Gupta Coins (British Museum) pl. xxiv. 11. The legend is read doubtfully by Rapson as "*Vîra* [-*sena* or *simha*]"<sup>1</sup>. It has "*Kramādityaḥ*" on the reverse. On the obverse there is a cow in the style of the Kāmadhenu of the Nepal coins of *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Amśuvarman*. Dr. V. Smith could not decide between "bull? or cow,"<sup>2</sup> an uncertainty which will be caused to everyone who would be introduced first to the Nepal Kāmadohī. The name is *śrī Vara* [*simha*]. Although certainly related to the Imperial Gupta coinage, the coin of *Varasimha*, has the weight not of the Gupta system but of Nepal coins, the weight of the three gold coins of *Varasimha* being 162.3, 162.5, and 169 grs. which as Smith says is 'abnormal' and 'not easy to explain' (p. 98). It is explainable only on the weight system of Nepal which we find there in vogue in the coinage of *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Amśuvarman* (Cunningham, CAI., xiii, 3, wt. 172; xiii, 6, wt. 169 grs.).

*Varasimha* in dispossessing *Jaya Gupta II* must be taken to have dispossessed him in the Tarai. Only three coins of *Varasimha* have been found up to this time, and one of them was obtained by Col. Rivett-Carnak at Benares. His coins should be looked for in Champaran. We know now about *Jaya Gupta II*'s coins that they were current

<sup>1</sup> JRAS, 1900, 131.

<sup>2</sup> p. 122.



near Magadha, as a mould to forge his gold coin has been just discovered (dug out) at Nālandā.<sup>1</sup> His principality must have been near Nālandā wherefrom the coin could be passed into the territory of its circulation or it could be discounted even in Magadha as that of a recognized feudatory. J a y a G u p t a's coins are the most debased gold coins of the whole of the Gupta series, having only  $\frac{1}{8}$  gold, which shows that he was in terrible financial straits. We have both his copper and gold coins. His title on his coins is *Prakāṇḍayaśah*. His copper coins have the Imperial Garuḍa, proving that he belonged to the Imperial Gupta family. His coins have been assigned by V. Smith to c. 600 A.D.

#### VIII—LICHCHHAVI COINAGE

It seems that on the weakness of the Gupta imperial organization [c. 500 A.D.] a branch from Magadha or North Bihar entered into Nepal and took direct possession of Nepal. The Lichchhavis then naturally became direct subordinates to the local Guptas. About 576 A.D. M ā n a d e v a I reasserted the independence of the Lichchhavi dynasty and struck his coins. He was followed by G u ṇ a d e v a (or Guṇa-kāma-deva) of the Guṇāṅka coins. They are a twin system of [*Mānāṅka-Guṇāṅka*] coinage. The names M ā n a d e v a and G u ṇ a -

<sup>1</sup> This was brought to me by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Supdt. A.S., C.C. to be deciphered. This is exactly of the type illustrated by Cunningham in CMI, pl. II. 3. The mould is made from a coin.

<sup>2</sup> V. Smith, CIM, p. 121; Cunningham, CMI, pl. II, 3; Allan, 153.



kāma-deva were transferred from between Vasantadeva I and Sivadeva I to a position below Vasantadeva II and above Sivadeva II in the Lichchhavi list. The confusion was caused by the appearance of Mānadeva II (contemporary and sovereign of Jishnugupta) there between Vasantadeva-Udayadeva and Sivadeva II. This lead to the transposition of Mānadeva I and Gaṇakāmadeva as nos. 25 and 26 of the Lichchhavi list from their original position between nos. 15 (Vasantadeva I) and 16 (Sivadeva I).<sup>1</sup>

On the evidence of coins there seems to be an assertion by the Lichchhavis in the time of Mānadeva I who coins his money. Now the Mañjuśrī Imperial History supplies the numismatic identification of the female figure on the coins of this king: *Srī-Bhaginī*. It says that the Vidyā worshipped by Mānadeva (who lived before Vṛishadeva) was *Bhoga-vatī*. Mañjuśrī's Imperial History begins the Lichchhavi line with him, for he was the first to become independent of the Imperial Guptas. The coin of Guṇa follows immediately Mānadeva's coin. But we gather from the coin of Vaiśravaṇa that the family had again a set-back. There is no room for this last coin after Amśuvarman and the coin of Amśuvarman and that of Vaiśravaṇa are so connected that one must follow the other. The design of *Kāmadobī* (the reading as corrected from *Kāmadehī* by the Rājaguru Pandit Hema-

<sup>1</sup> 13 IA, 412.



r ā j a Ś a r m ā) appears on these two coins only. Amśuvarman's successor J i s h ṇ u G u p t a abandons it, and the *Paśupati* series which follows J i s h ṇ u G u p t a<sup>1</sup> abandons it. If it came after the *Paśupati* series—its date would be c. 800 A.D. which will be too late for the script of the *Vaiśravaṇa* coin. The coin should therefore come before Amśuvarman and after Mānāṅka and Guṇāṅka coins, where it has been already placed by numismatists (see Cunningham, C. A. I. 116). But as there is no name in the Lichchhavi list to whom it can be assigned, it has remained unassigned. We may take it to belong to 'the revived (Ahīr) Gupta dynasty,' where it can belong either to Y a k s h a G u p t a or B h ū m i G u p t a. 'Yaksha' corresponds to '*Vaiśravaṇa*,' the king of the Yakshas. The legend acts as the rebus, if not the actual regnal name of the king. It may be safely presumed that the line of V ṛ i s h a d e v a, Ś a ṅ k a r a d e v a, D h a r m a d e v a, etc.—strikes the *Paśupati* coins under the new Śaiva influence, in the name of their Deity, *P a ś u p a t i*, with changing symbols—the Trident probably signifying the reign of Ś a ṅ k a r a d e v a who dedicated the large trident noted in Nepal history and come down to our time. His son is accredited to have donated the copper *Nandi* at *Paśupati*. The Sun symbol on the *Paśupati* series denotes the *Sūryavamśa* of the Lichchhavis. The *Paśupati* coinage has 'six distinct types'<sup>1</sup> and from V ṛ i s h a d e v a to V a s a n t a - d e v a we have 6 kings.

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Walsh, J.R.A.S., 1908, 681.



In weight the Vaiśravaṇa coin does not belong to the series of Paśupati, but to that of Mānāṅka, Guṇāṅka and Aṁśuvarman. The Paśupati series is subsequent to Vaiśravaṇa.<sup>1</sup>

### *Chinese History on Nepal Coinage*

The Chinese have described the coinage of Nepal about 643-651 A. D. Wang-Hiuen-t'se, in his description<sup>2</sup> of the kingdom of Nepal under king N a r e n - d r a d e v a, relates that Nepal "*has copper money which bears on one side the figure of a man and on the reverse a horse.*" In the other edition of the Thang history (called *The New History*), the description of the money is "*on one side it bears the figure of a man and the reverse a horse and a bull, and has no hole in the middle*" (that is, unlike Chinese coins).

This description is only applicable to the following coins:

(1) Coin of *Vaiśravaṇa* (Cunningham, C.A.I., pl. XIII, 3; Walsh, JRAS, 1908, p. 669, pl. I. 4). Here there is on the obverse what Cunningham describes—"The types [of Nepal coins] are few in number. The principal type shows the king seated on a throne holding a flower in his right hand" (p. 114) also further—"Deity or Raja, seated to front" (p. 116). The reverse has a cow (not bull). The very small calf is mostly very indistinct—e.g. on the coin illustrated by Mr. Walsh where letters and other features of the coin are all clear but the calf is difficult to distinguish. The cow

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Walsh, J.R.A.S., 1908, 681.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved in the History of the Thang Dynasty; J. A., 1894, 66. The passage has been translated several times. See Lévi's citation, *Nepal*, i. 163-64; n2 at p. 164.



is so drawn that by a man in the street it may be taken as a bull.

(2) Coin of *Mānādeva I* (*Mānāñka*) where the figure of the goddess *Bhaginī* may well be mistaken for that of a man (see Mr. Walsh's plate, fig. 1). The griffin on the reverse has the perfect appearance of a horse.

(3) *Amśuvarman's* series having on one side the cow [which can be mistaken for a bull] and on the other the 'horse' (really griffin) (CAI, xiii. 4; Walsh, I. 5) is the only other nearest approach, but probably it has to be ruled out for not having any human figure. *Jishnu Gupta's* coin has similarly to go out, because it has the griffin on one side but no human figure or the cow on the other side but *vajra* in a decorative style.

Hence the Chinese party who saw Nepalese copper coins in 643 to 651 A.D. based their description on the coins of *Mānādeva I*, *Vaiśravaṇa*, and also possibly of *Amśuvarman* ('New History' : 'horse and bull'). It seems that *Mānāñka*, *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Amśuvarman's* coins had been largely minted and they mainly supplied the needs of currency up to c. 650 A. D.

The value of copper in the *Madhyadeśa* (*Madhes* of the present-day Nepalese) was  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of silver, but probably in Nepal it was still more dear. *Jishnu-Gupta's* inscription at Thankot<sup>1</sup> calculates all

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, *Nepal*, iii. 104 (lines 23-25, p. 107 : kare cha yena kārshāpaṇan deyaṇ tenāshṭau paṇā deyaṇ yenaushṭau paṇā deyaṇ tena paṇa-chatusṭayaṇ Malla-kare cha paṇa-chatusṭayaṇ deyaṇ).



taxes in *kārshāpaṇas*, which confirms the Chinese testimony of a copper currency. So does also the fact that we have found no silver coin of the period in Nepal. But Amśuvarman's inscription of the year 30,<sup>1</sup> mentions both *pu.* (i.e. *purāṇa* = silver punch-marked pieces) and *pa.* i.e., *paṇa*. It is possible that the reference is only for the purposes of calculation into *Kārshāpaṇas*. In any case silver was rare in Nepal.<sup>2</sup>

On the vexed question of the date of Nepal coins, the Chinese description is evidence of that the age of the *Mānāṅka* and *Vaiśravaṇa* coins cannot be later than 643 A. D. and that *Paśupati* coins had not come on the scene yet and that they have to be dated after 651 A. D.

It is not possible for the *Mānāṅka* coin to belong to *Mānadeva II*, contemporary of *Jishnu Gupta*, as he ruled for a year or so, and could not leave so numerous a series, nor of course can it belong to *Mānadeva III* [of the *Changu Narayan* inscription] who came half a century later.

[On the absence of Nepal coinage between c. 800 to 1300 A. D., the discussion is to be found in this thesis in § XII].

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, *ibid*, p. 93 (Harigaon insc.).

<sup>2</sup> The T'ang History mentions silver in Tibet in the same period. See Bushell's translation, JRAS, 1880, p. 442—"They have abundance of gold, silver, copper and tin."



## IX—DYNASTIC REVOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF AMSUVARMAN

### *The Line of Udayadeva*

The line of U d a y a d e v a is a puzzle. It is given both in the inscription of Jayadeva II, great grandson of Udayadeva, as if it belongs to the Lichchhavis. It is given in the Vamśavalī as the concluding portion of the Lichchhavis line. The puzzle is solved by Chinese datum to be discussed below and the Thankot inscription of J i s h n u G u p t a mentioning a M ā n a d e v a, not as 'the banner of the Lichchhavi dynasty' the usual dynastic description, but as 'the banner of the dynasty seated on the throne' (*singhāsanādhyāsi-kula-ketu*).<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to remember throughout these discussions that according to one view—e.g. Lévi's—A m ś u - v a r m a n married the daughter of Ś i v a d e v a (the name *Viśva* supposed to be a corruption of *Siva*), and according to the other as noted in a Vamśāvalī in possession of the Baḍā Kāzi of Nepal (cited in Landon, ii, 315) A m ś u v a r m a n was adopted by Ś i v a d e v a as a son, who was some sort of a nephew to him. The inscriptions do not however show that Sivadeva treated Amśuvarman as his son, but this by itself is not sufficient. The name ending-*deva* in the name of *Udaya-deva*, who was in every event the immediate successor of Amśuvarman need not trouble us, as A m ś u - v a r m a n ' s admitted descendants did adopt the *deva*-ending.

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, iii. 107.



What happened on the death of *A m ś u v a r - m a n* we gather from an unexpected quarter—Chinese history of the *T'a n g* Dynasty. According to the inscription of Jayadeva II, King *U d a y a - d e v a*'s son was *N a r e n d r a d e v a*.<sup>1</sup> About this *N a r e n d r a d e v a* there is a volume of information in the Chinese history. His dress, his palace [*Kailāsakūṭa*], the coinage current in his time, and his international status are all described in detail. That account says that the father of the king *Na-ling-ti-po* (*N a r e n d r a d e v a*), whom the Imperial Ambassador met in Nepal in 643 A.D., had been deposed by his (*Narendradeva*'s) uncle, the younger brother of his father; whereupon *N a r e n d r a d e v a* sought the help of the Tibetan king (*Strong-tsan-Gam-po*) who restored him to the throne of Nepal and made him his vassal. In 651 A.D. *Ś r ī N a r e n d r a* (*Chi-li-Na-lien-to-lo*) sent a mission to the Chinese Emperor. This was a year later than the death of *Strong-tsan-Gampo*. *Narendradeva* was still ruling in 657 A.D. when a Chinese ambassador passed through Nepal<sup>2</sup>.

We thus get the definite news that *U d a y a - d e v a*, father of *N a r e n d r a d e v a* was deposed by his younger brother who became king. Naturally the name of this collateral and usurper is not to be

<sup>1</sup> The reading and interpretation of Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX, 178) has been corrected by Fleet (G. I., I., 187) which correction I have verified in Nepal. The learned Rāja-Gurn Pt. *H e m a r ā j a Ś a r m ā* who has gone deep into the matter is of the opinion that it is not possible to maintain the reading *trayodaśa* of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.

<sup>2</sup> J.A., 1894, 63ff; 1900, 302.



found in the genealogy given by the grandson of Narendradeva, J a y a d e v a II. But we know his name from the inscriptions of J i s h ṇ u G u p t a who, three or four years after the last inscription of A ṁ ś u v a r m a n (dated 40 + 4 or 5), was ruling from the *Kailāsakūṭa* Palace of A ṁ ś u v a r m a n as the Viceroy of D h r u v a d e v a who was residing at M ā n a g ṛ i h a, the palace of the Lichchhavi kings. Before that time Jishṇu Gupta ruled also as the viceroy of M ā n a d e v a (who should be called M ā - n a d e v a II as opposed to the later Mānadeva, great-grandson of Vṛishadeva, who should be called M ā n a d e v a III). The date in the inscription at Thankot wherein M ā n a d e v a II is king, is not distinct now<sup>1</sup> but it is not difficult to decide whether Dhruvadeva was the uncle of Narendradeva, or M ā n a d e v a II who dispossessed his father. For D h r u v a d e v a's date being the year 48 (= 643 A.D.) he must be the latter of the two, as N a r e n d r a d e v a had succeeded by 643 when he was on the throne. Then D h r u v a d e v a is specifically described as a Lichchhavi, while M ā n a - d e v a II is significantly described by a new appellation—*'the banner of the enthroned family'*—i.e., the family of A ṁ ś u v a r m a n as opposed to that of the Lichchhavis. That also proves that A ṁ ś u - v a r m a n had also assumed full sovereignty in his last year. This is also certain that in the short period between the year 44 of A ṁ ś u v a r m a n

<sup>1</sup> Lévi reads it doubtfully as 500? But I do not find this figure. On the other hand the date reads like 44, see plate XVII, last line (Lévi, iii)—See my enlarged reproduction herein.

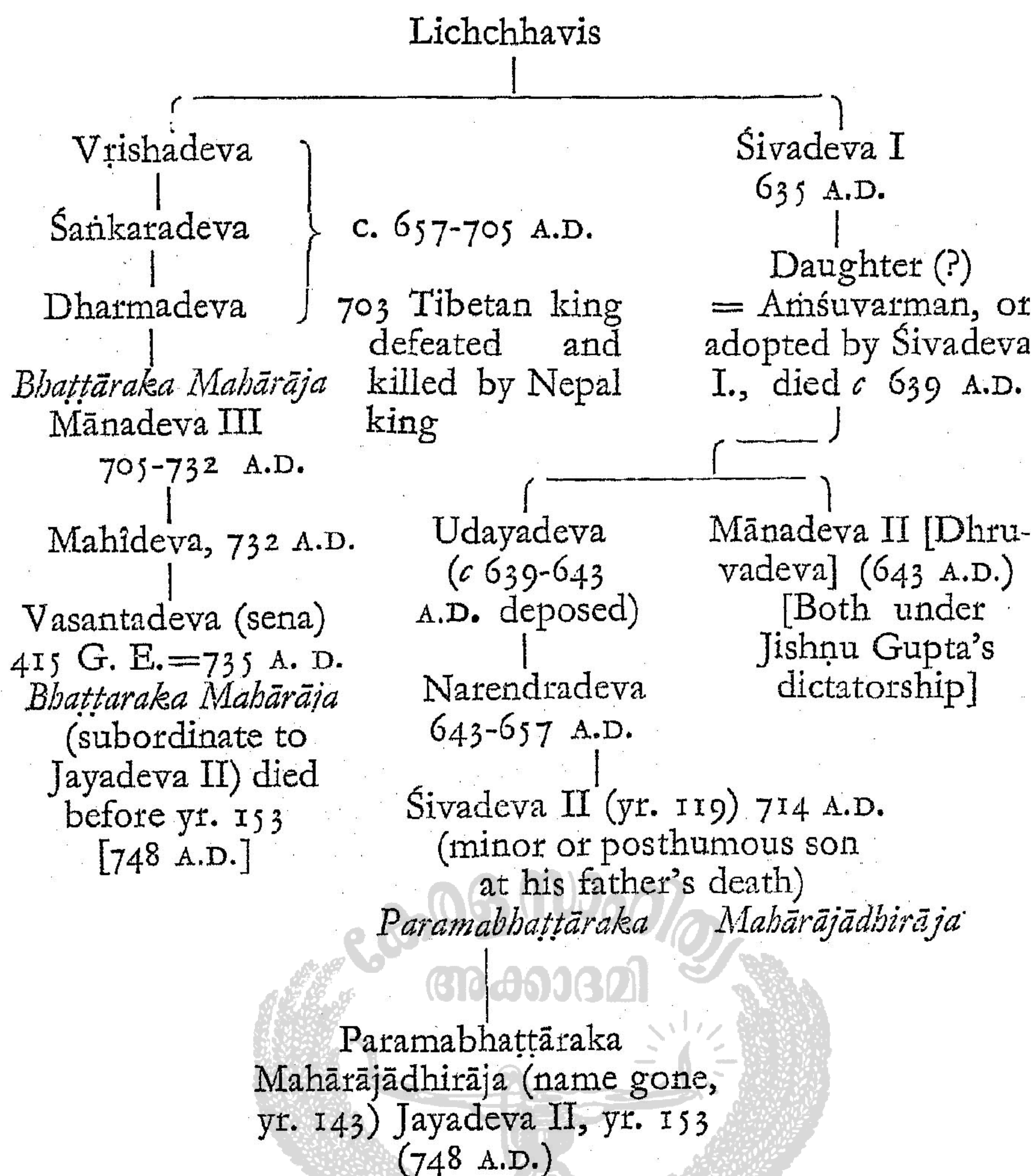


and about 48, and before 643 A.D., U d a y a d e v a was dethroned by M ā n a d e v a II. The Vamśā valīs correctly place *Mānadeva* between Udayadeva and Narendradeva (with the addition of one more name, *Guṇakāma-deva*, after *Mānadeva*, as a mistaken transposition from his place below *Mānadeva* I, for there is no room for *Guṇakāmadeva* here). Taking four years (the difference between Amśuvarman's date 44 and of Jishṇu Gupta 48), U d a y a d e v a at the earliest must have succeeded Amśuvarman four years before N a r e n d r a d e v a , 643, i.e. *circa* 639 A.D., and latest in 642-643 A.D.

Now the line of U d a y a d e v a when dated from Chinese data and inscriptions exhibits the ups and downs in the political position of the Lichchhavi-Thākuri line and the pure Lichchhavi line in the following manner:







Mānadeva II and Dhruvadeva both had their residence at Mānagriha, hence there was no room for Vrishadeva from c 639 to 643. Narendradeva was the king of the whole of Nepal in 643 and he was such a king up to 657 at least. Hence Vrishadeva and his line rose to power after Narendradeva and during the minority of Sivadeva II, whose record we find 63 years later than his father's. During this interval Vrishadeva, Saikaradeva, Dharmadeva, and Mānadeva III succeeded.



D h a r m a d e v a 's position seems to have been great, he set up four Pillars of Victory according to the Changu Narayan inscription of his son M ā n a - d e v a III. This is confirmed by Chinese sources. The king of Nepal killed the Tibetan king in war in 703 A.D. or 705 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

M ā n a d e v a in the beginning of his reign (386 G. E. = 705) carried war against the Mallas and reached the Gandak (North Bihar).<sup>2</sup> But in 732 his position is that he is merely described by a subordinate of his as *Śrīmānadeva-nripati* (I.A., IX. 167) while his contemporary Ś i v a d e v a II (119 = 714 A.D.) is styled with Imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* (I.A., IX. 174). And 24 years later, evidently in the reign of J a y a d e v a II the same imperial title still continued in the line, the family employing the Thākuri era, year 143, (I.A., IX, 176); while V a s a n t a d e v a (sena) in 415<sup>3</sup> G. E. = 735 A.D. is only *Mahārāja* and a simple (not *parama*) *Bhaṭṭāraka*.

V a s a n t a d e v a must have been dead when J a y a d e v a II in the year 153 = 748 A.D. said about him '*āsīt Vasantadevaḥ*' (I.A., IX, 178).

The Mañjuśrī History correctly records the situation that after U d a y a came J i s h n u

<sup>1</sup> In 703 A.D. according to E. H. Parker, Journal of Manchester Oriental Society, 1911, pp. 129-52, cited by V. Smith, EH., p. 381; 705 A.D. according to Dr. Bushell, JRAS, 1880, 438.

<sup>2</sup> See Changu Narayan inscription, lines recovered by Lévi (iii, 14).

<sup>3</sup> I.A., IX. 167. The figure is 415, not 435; cf. plates 3 and 2 for the figure 10 (I.A., IX), and chart of figures in Bendall's Cambridge Cat. and Bühler's chart for 30.



and that J i s h ñ u was the last independent king of Nepal, that the kings after him became subordinate to the M l e c h c h h a s (Tibetans), and that the overlord of Nepal (Tibetan king) having been killed by arms, there arose several kings, lovers of 'Devas' and 'Brāhmaṇas.' These latter were the Lichchhavis of the line of Vṛishadeva. Although Vṛishadeva was a patron of Buddhism, Śaṅkara, Dharma, Mānadeva III and also probably Vasantadeva, and certainly Sivadeva II and Jayadeva II were distinctly Brāhmanical, devotees of Viṣṇu and Śiva, to whom their dedicated monuments still survive.

There is no trace of any Tibetan overlordship after 703 A.D. which is a landmark in their international relation—a point entirely missed by Lévi. Their imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* from 714 to 738 fully establishes their independent position.

The T'ang History, bks. 256—257, gives the contemporary history of Tibet, which has been translated by Dr. S. W. Bushell, physician to the British Legation at Peking, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 435ff. According to it, S t r o n g - t s a n - G a m p o (Chinese—Ch'it-sung-lung-tsan) died in 650 and was succeeded by his grandson, aged 8, whose son Ch'inu-shsilung was killed in his expedition against Nepal and was succeeded by a minor son aged 7 in 705 A.D. It was not until 755-756 (two successions later) that the Tibetan king once more rose to military greatness by attacking China and taking her capital in 756 A.D. Between 740 and 769 A.D. Tibet



was defeated by Muktâpîḍa Lalitâditya of Kashmir.<sup>1</sup> Between 822 and 842 Tibet again goes down and a civil war ensues (842), and in 849 Tibet becomes a broken vassal of China. It becomes thus evident that in Dharmadeva's time (703) Tibet is defeated, and down to the time of Jayadeva II (748 A.D.) Nepal was absolutely her own master, there being weakness in Tibet up to 755.<sup>2</sup> C. 800 Nepal was strong enough to defeat the great Jayâpîḍa.

It is noteworthy that the family of Mānadeva II is not named by Jishnu Gupta at Thankot as the *Lichchhavi-kula-ketu*, but as *singhāsanādhyāsi-kula-ketu* (Lévi, iii, 105). This fully confirms the view that Udayadeva and his brother were not technically Lichchhavis, but Thākuriṣ. It should be noted however that Yuan Chwang regards the kings before Amśuvarman and after him (even including Amśuvarman) as Lichchhavis. That is, in the Thākuri family the predominant element was the Lichchhavi affiliation.

The date of Narendradeva (643-657) definitely contributes to the ascertainment of the correct date for Amśuvarman. He must have

<sup>1</sup> Mon. Lévi has not noticed the Nepalese victory over Tibet of the year 703 A.D. and has gratuitously held Nepal to have been subject to Tibet from the time of Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman down to 880 A.D., while the Chinese historians themselves state the Indians states that used to approach China against Tibet ceased to do so at 760 A.D.—S. Julien, J.A. 1842. 2.

<sup>2</sup> V. Smith, EH., 386-87.



died not later than 643, or *minus* 4 or 3 years of Jishnu Gupta's rule, c 640 or 639 A.D.

It was in the time of Narendradeva that Nepal for the first time became a vassal of Tibet, that is, about 643 A.D. This is definitely stated by the Chinese history. This happened as a result of Narendradeva's seeking help of foreign intervention and not as a result of any military invasion. It was Narendradeva who furnished 7000 cavalry to the Chinese ambassador along with the Tibetan force of 1200, to dislodge Arjuna or Aruṇāśva, and not Amśuvarman as erroneously stated by Fleet.<sup>1</sup> Narendradeva's name is specifically noted by the Chinese writers in this connection.

It is likely that the marriage of the alleged daughter of Amśuvarman with Strongtsan-Gampo took place, if in 642 A.D. the agreed date, not in the lifetime of Amśuvarman but after him and in the period when the Nepalese king was seeking the help of Tibet. If the lady was a sister of Udayadeva, she was the daughter of Amśuvarman. If she was a sister of Narendradeva, she was Udayadeva's daughter. The Tibetan word translated as *prabhāvarman* may stand either for *Amśuvarman* or *Udaya (deva) varman*. In the closing years (about the year 44) Amśuvarman was *Mahārājādbhirāja*. That title, the chronology, and the Chinese records are all against Amśuvarman's having accepted the

<sup>1</sup> GI, I., 190.



suzerainty of Tibet. And so is also the express authority of the Mañjuśrī History which definitely dates the foreign domination of Nepal *after* J i s h n u - G u p t a.

## X—ARCHITECTURE, EPIGRAPHY AND CONSTITUTION

### *Chinese account of Nepal, 643-651 A.D.*

[HISTORY OF THE THANG DYNASTY, c. 221<sup>1</sup>]

#### *People, Currency, Arts, Sciences and Worship*

“The kingdom of Nepal is right to the west of Tibet. The inhabitants have the custom to shave their hair just to the level of the eye-brows. They pierce their ears and suspend therein tubes made of bamboo or horn of cattle. It is a mark of beauty to have ears hanging upto the shoulders. They eat with their hands without using spoons or sticks. All their utensils are made of copper. The merchants there, moving and stationary, are numerous; cultivators, rare. They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse [*New History*: They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse and a bull, and which have no hole in the middle]. . They do not pierce the noses of their bulls. They clothe themselves with a single piece of cloth which envelopes the body. They bathe themselves several times a day. Their houses are constructed of wood. The walls of these are sculptured and painted. They are very fond of scenic plays, they take pleasure in blow-

<sup>1</sup> J. A. 1894, 65ff.



ing trumpets and beating drums. They understand fairly well calculation of destiny and researches in physical philosophy. They are equally clever in the art of the Calendar-maker. They adore five celestial spirits, and sculpture their images in stone. Each day they wash them with purifying water. They roast a lamb and offer it in sacrifice.”

### *The King*

“Their king, *Nalingtipō* (Narendradeva) adorns himself with true pearls, rock crystal, mother-of-pearl, coral, and amber; he has in the ears rings of gold and pendants of jade, and a breloc belt ornamented with the figure of the Buddha. He seats himself on a seat of lions.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the hall one spreads flowers and perfumes. The nobles and the officers and all the court are seated to the right and to the left on the ground; at his sides are ranged hundreds of soldiers having arms.”

### *Kailāsakūṭa Palace in 643-657 A.D.*

“In the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven storeys roofed with copper tiles. Its balustrade, grilles, columns, beams, and every thing therein are set with fine and even precious stones. At each of the four corners of the tower there projects a waterpipe of copper. At the base there are golden dragons which spout forth water. From the summit of the tower water is poured through runnels which finds its way down below, streaming like a fountain from the mouth of the golden Makara.”

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thankot inscr.—*śimbāsanādbyāsi-kulaketu*.



The Vamśāvalī throughout mention the construction of palaces of nine storeys and seven storeys and of copper-roofing temples. The art of Nepal excited the admiration of the Chinese, themselves highly artistic.

*Architecture and Temples of Nepal in 657 A. D.*

The following passages from Chinese History (translated from French by Dr. Banerji-Sastri) prove that in the year 657 A.D. when the Ambassador Wang Hiuentse passed through Nepal once more (in the reign of Narendradeva whom he had known since 643 A.D.) his companions saw a petroleum spring in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu, which might be rediscovered with profit.

The architectural style which is now known as the pagoda style was already in vogue in Nepal in the middle of the seventh century. The Chinese saw there then such temples and secular buildings, the like of which they had not seen or known in their own country. The style travelled from Nepal to China, and not *vice versa*. The style was not known in China before, while every house in Nepal in its essentials is composed in that style. It was a Nepalese invention, and such is also the opinion of Mr. Landon (ii. 257-58) who can speak on the subject with authority as he studied the question in China also. Throughout Tibet and Mongolia the style is unknown. This shows that in China it was an importation, at first as a Buddhist religious architecture from Nepal.

The passage bearing on the palace of Narendra-



deva which was no other than the *Kailāśakūṭa*, of which Amśuvarman was greatly proud (inscription of the year 34), is cited above. The Vamśāvalī too note the great Palace and Secretariate built by Amśuvarman (Wright, p. 133).

*Wang Hiuen-ts'e on Nepal*

I.—“The *Si-kouo-hing-tchoan* of Wang Hiuen-ts'e says: In the second year of Hien-king (657) an imperial order sent Wang Hiuen-ts'e and some others into the kingdoms of the West to offer to the Buddha a Kaṣāya. They went to *Ni-po-lo* (Nepāla) towards the South-West. Arrived at *Pouo-lo-ton*, they came to the east of the village at the bottom of a depression. There was there a small lake of water on fire. If one takes in hand some lighted fire to illuminate it, suddenly on its surface appears a luminous fire which emerges from the very bosom of the water. If one wishes to extinguish it by drenching it with the water, the water changes into fire and burns. The Chinese envoy and his followers placed thereon a cooking vessel and thus prepared their nourishment by heating. The envoy interrogated the king of the country; the king replied to him : Yore, in striking strokes with a staff, one made to appear a chest of gold; order was given to a man to drag it out. But each time that one pulled it out, it replunged. Tradition says that it is the gold of the diadem of *Mi-le P'ou-sa* (Maitreya Bodhisattva), who is due to come to complete the path. The Nāga of fire protects it and defends it; the fire of this lake



is the fire of the Nāga of Fire.”<sup>1</sup>

II.—“To the South-East of the capital, at a small distance, there is a lake of water and of fire. In going one li towards the East, one finds the fountain *A-ki-po-li*<sup>2</sup> (the *Fa-youen-tchou-lin* bears : *A-ki-po-mi*; the same alternations in the two redactions of the *History of the T'angs*). Its circumference is of 20 pou (40 paces). In the dry time as in the season of the rains, it is deep; it does not dissipate but keeps on steaming always. If one holds in hand some lighted fire, the entire tank takes fire; the smokes and the fire rise several feet high. If one drenches this fire with some water, then the fire becomes more intense. If one launches therein powdered dust, the flame ceases and what one throws therein turns to ash. If one places a cooking vessel over the water to prepare the food by heating, it is well-heated. There was in olden time in this fountain a coffer of gold. A king ordered to drag this coffer out. When one had brought it out of the mud, the men and elephants pulled at it without succeeding in making it come out. And in the night a supernatural voice says : Here is the diadem of Maitreya Buddha; creatures could not assuredly obtain it, because the Nāga of Fire guards it.”

“To the South of the town, at more than 10 li, is found an isolated mountain covered with an extraordinary vegetation; Temples are disposed there in numerous storeys which one would take for a crown

<sup>1</sup> *Missions of Wang*—Fragment IV, drawn from *Fa-youen-tchou-lin*, chap. xvi, p. 15b, col. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Agni-puri*, or *agni-pushkarî*—K. P. J.



of clouds. Under the pines and the bamboos, the fishes and the dragons follow man, tame and confiding. They approach the man and come to receive what to eat. Who does them violence causes the ruin of those his own."

"Recently the orders of the Empire passed by this kingdom and thence extended far. Now it depends on *T'en-fan* (Tibet)."<sup>1</sup>

III.—"In the capital of Nepal there is a construction in storeys which has more than 200 tch'eu of height and 80 peu (400 feet) of circumference. Ten thousand men can find place in its upper part. It is divided in three terraces<sup>2</sup> and each terrace is divided in seven storyes. In the four pavilions, there are sculptures to make you marvel. Stones and pearls decorate them."<sup>3</sup>

*Epigraphy of Nepal of the 7th and 8th centuries*

Epigraphy of Nepal is a peculiar matter—it is puzzling, especially when one first takes to it. Writing in Nepal is very stationary, the result being that epigraphs of the seventh century appear to be older by several centuries, judged from the standard of the plains. This lead Professor Lévi to assign records dated in Gupta Era to Śaka Era and a supposed Lichchhavi Era. The best authority on Nepal paleography is Dr. Bendall who made a very deep study of manuscript paleography of Nepal and with that knowledge he had no hesitation in

<sup>1</sup> Fragments II and III.

<sup>2</sup> "Court-yards" in the *Vamśāvalī* (Wright, 133).

<sup>3</sup> *Chen-kia-fang-tchi*. Cf. *Le Nepal*, per S. Lévi, vol. I, pp. 157-9.



assigning correct dates to Nepal lithic inscriptions. He found Gupta characters of the fourth and fifth centuries which were distinct from the Amśuvarman group (*Journey*, p. 5). Outside the Kathmandu group of towns no search has been made at sites of the old seats of governments. The Kailāsakūṭa mound is yet to be excavated.

In the meantime I may emphasize the archaic nature of Nepal epigraphy by citing one example. There is a copy of the law Digest *Kalpataṛu* of Lakshmīdhara, which was written in the time of the author—12th century. I was anxious to see it, but as the owner General Kaisar Shamsheṛ Jang was away from Nepal I could not see it. My friend the Rājaguru told me that the manuscript which is (on palm leaf) in Nāgarī has notes on the margin of leaves in Gupta characters. Similarly the Rañjana script still current in Nepal is only a variety of Gupta letters. It is so common that ordinary engravers made seals for me in this script.

As Gupta writing persisted in Nepal, so did Guptan and post-Guptan style in sculpture in Nepal. At every step I was deceived by sculptures, a few centuries old, giving an impression of the 9th century and 8th century technique.

#### *Origin of Dual Sovereignty in Nepal*

Dual Sovereignty is a bad working hypothesis to the modern political theorist. But it is fully attested and authenticated by the history of Nepal—not only of the period reviewed above but also of the subsequent periods—fully borne out by colophons



of manuscripts noted by Bendall (Nepal Catalogue, i, Introduction), by inscriptions [e.g., Bendall's *Journey*, p. 15] and notices in the *Vamśavalīs* of "joint rule"—down to our own time. It is in the very soil of Nepal and works well, wonderfully well. Its origin lies in the dual constitution of the Lichchhavis—of the *Rājā* and *Upa-Rājā*—which they carried from Vaiśālī into Nepal. Even in their Monarchical days they could not shake it off. The curious sight of two sovereigns in the new Svayamabhū nāth inscription<sup>1</sup> and in the Early Thākuri history puzzled me until the Lichchhavi constitution of the republican Vaiśālī was recalled. This *Dvairājya* system which was fully known to Ancient Hindus and which the Jaina sūtras ask their monks to avoid, is suitable for a constitutional oasis like Nepal. It, at the same time, put a limit to her power of expansion.

Nepal in the past, as to this day, has been mainly oligarchical and never purely monarchical. Therein lies both her strength and weakness.

### XI—THAKURIS AFTER JAYADEVA II

The list of the *Vamśāvalīs*<sup>2</sup> for the period 880 A.D. to the present dynasty has been confirmed<sup>3</sup> by the researches of Dr. Bendall based purely on dated

<sup>1</sup> JBORS, XXII. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Bendall's *Vamśāvalī*, *Nepal Cat.* i, p. 21; Bhagwanlal Indraji's ed., I.A., IX. 413, other *Vamśāvalīs* in Lévi's *Nepal*, ii. 131-132; Kirkpatrick, 261-262.

<sup>3</sup> Only the Third Thākuri Dynasty—I.A., IX, 414—6 names—Jayachandra Malla to Aśoka Malla coming before Jayasthiti Malla (1380-1354 A.D.), never ruled and are to be excluded. They must have been subordinate rulers.



manuscripts of Nepal (*Cat.*, p. 21ff). It is therefore not necessary for me to deal with the list after Rāghavadeva (880 A.D.). The names from Rāghavadeva to the end of the dynasty in the *Vaṃśāvalī* cited by Bendall (14th century) are:

Rāghavadeva 880 A.D. (46 yrs. 6 months)  
 Jayadeva (III) (10 yrs.)  
 Vikramadeva (8 yrs. 9 months)  
 Narendradeva (III) (1 yr. 6 months)  
 Guṇakāmadeva (II) (65 yrs. 5 months)  
 Udayadeva II (1018<sup>1</sup> A.D., according to the  
 total of the above reign-period; (5 yrs. 5  
 months)

Nirbhaya (MS., 1008; A.D.) (K., 7 yrs.)

*Joint rule* { Bhojadeva (dated MS., 1015 A.D.,  
 not in Bendall's V. list)  
 [Rudra not in any V.]  
 Lakshmīkāmadeva (1015 A.D., dated  
 manuscript) (21 yrs.)

Jayakāmadeva, 1039 A.D., MS., 'reign over half the kingdom' (20 yrs.) (Bendall's V.; at first joined with the two above).

Against this we have in the other lists :

[Rāghavadeva, only in K., 63 yrs.].

12 Jayadeva (III) (15 yrs.)

13 Balārjunadeva (17 yrs.) [in K. he is  
 above Rāghavadeva]

14 Vikramadeva (12 yrs.)

[Narendradeva, only in K., 1½ yrs.]

15 Guṇakāmadeva (II) (51 yrs.)

<sup>1</sup> There must be a mistake of at least 10 yrs. because the next king's date is 1008 A.D. (Bendall, p. 21).



[Udaya, only in K., 6 yrs.]

[Nirbhaya, only in K., 7 yrs.]

16 Bhojadeva (8 yrs.)

17 Lakshmīkāmadeva (22 yrs.)

In the latter list no. 13 Balārjunadeva is extra. But in the list of Kirkpatrick's *Vaṁśāvalī*, which is in age next to Bendall's and earlier than Wright's and Bhagwanlal's, we have Balārjuna above Rāghavadeva who is omitted by other *Vaṁśāvalīs*. Hence the correct order seems to be that Balārjunadeva should come before Rāghavadeva<sup>1</sup>, i.e.

[12] Balārjunadeva  
Rāghavadeva

[13] Jayadeva III etc.

The succession of the Thākuri line before Rāghavadeva, thus corrected, stands in the following order. [Fortunately at this period we begin to get reliable reign-periods. The *Vaṁśāvalīs* place these below Amśuvarman, 42 yrs., K., but they come really below Sivadeva II, as Amśuvarman is misplaced from below Sivadeva I to below Sivadeva II; and Jayadeva II (son of Sivadeva II) is omitted. Then the order runs thus :]

(2) Kṛitavarman [18 yrs. (K.), 654 A.D.<sup>2</sup>]

(3) Bhīmārjunadeva I [39 yrs. (K.), 672 A.D.]

(4) Nandadeva 'introduced the Era of Śālivāhana in Nepal' [13 yrs. (K.), 711 A.D.]

<sup>1</sup> In K. the names Balārjuna and Jayadeva have been repeated three times—evidently the composer who was consulting three authorities copied three orders. All this confusion is cleared up by Bendall's authority.

<sup>2</sup> Dates are calculated back from 880 A.D. for Rāghavadeva (see above).

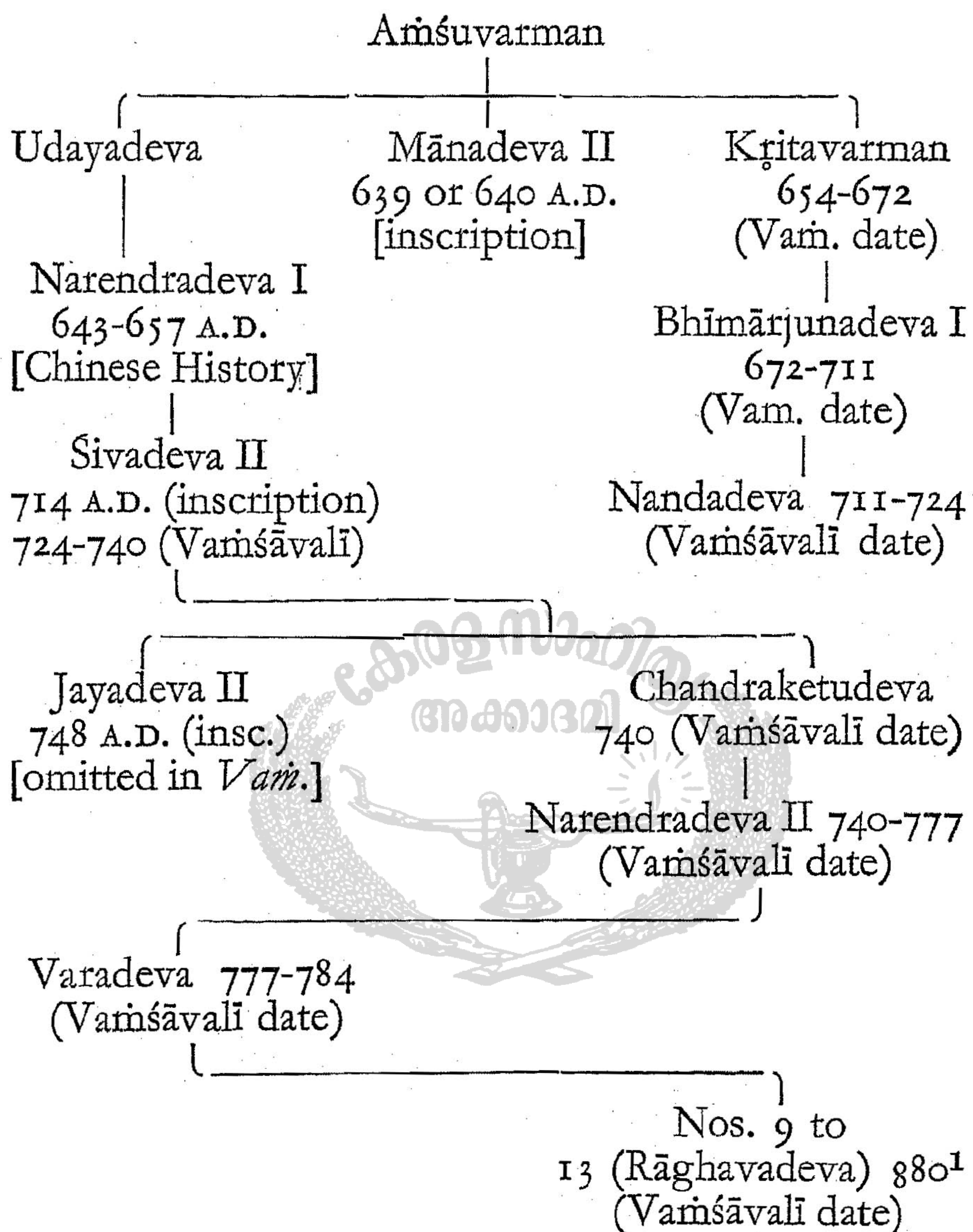


- (5) Śivadeva II (K.) 16 yrs., 724 A.D.  
[Vīradeva—other recensions]
- (6) Chandraketudeva, [omitted by K., did not complete even a year according to others] 740 A.D.
- (7) Narendradeva [instituted Tibetan Buddhist worship, and several foundations] 37 yrs.  
(K.), 7 yrs. (W.) 740—777 A. D.
- (8) Varadeva, 17 yrs. (K.), 23 yrs. (L.) 8 yrs. (W.)  
777-784 A.D.
- (9) Śaṃkaradeva 12 yrs. (all authorities)  
784-796 A.D.
- (10) Vardhamānadeva 13 yrs., 16 yrs., (K.)  
(Bhīmārjunadeva (K.) 812 A.D.
- (11) Balideva 13 yrs., 16 yrs. (K.)  
828 A.D.
- (12) Balārjunadeva 36 yrs., (36 yrs., 7ms. (K.),  
other 17 yrs.) 844 A. D.  
Rāghavadeva 46 yrs. (Bendall)  
880-926 A.D.

It seems that Kṛitavarman and Bhīmārjunadeva I did not reign; no reign period is given to them by Wright's *Vaṃśāvalī*, nor is any event ascribed to them. They are mere names. They might have been feudatories, or only ancestors introduced here to give a complete genealogy from Amśuvarman. Their reign-periods given in Bhagwanlal's and Lévi's *Vaṃśāvalīs*—87 and 93 years—attempt to bridge the time roughly between Amśuvarman and Śivadeva II. The alternative years for them in Kirkpatrick's *Vaṃśāvalī* (18 and 39) will make their branch begin about c 654 A.D.



The line should be counted from No. 5 Śivadeva II, the three names before are probably of feudatories. The descent seems to have been thus :



The omission of Jayadeva II by the Vamśāvalīs in both lists—Lichchhavi and Thākuri—is significant. After Śivadeva II the main authority seems to have passed to Chandraketudeva whose

<sup>1</sup> Kirkpatrick, p. 202.



succession is noted to have been disputed, evidently, by Jayadeva II who is not given the full title of sovereignty in his inscription. Probably Chandraketudeva was the elder, and Jayadeva II a usurper. Śivadeva II is given both in the Lichchhavi line (no. 27) after Udayadeva and Mānadeva (with the misplaced Guṇakāmadeva) and in the Thākuri line. This confusion resulted in the Chroniclers because they had read the inscription of Jayadeva II, and on account of the claim of the descendants of Amśuvarman to be the true Lichchhavi heirs<sup>1</sup>. But the chronology adopted by the Vamśāvalī<sup>2</sup> is correct and agrees with the inscriptional dates and dates from Chinese History. The Thākuri list further proves by the repetition of Śivadeva II that the line of Udayadeva really descended from Amśuvarman.

*Defeat of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya (782—813 A.D.)  
of Kashmir by Nepal*

Jayāpīḍa, the Karkoṭa king of Kāśmir, whose history is related at length by Kalhana in his History of Kāśmir, c. iv, verses 402-659, came to throne 48½ years after the accession of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya who had been invested by the Emperor of China in 733 A.D. He therefore became king in or about 782 A.D. and ruled for

<sup>1</sup> One *Vamśāvalī* cited in Mr. Landon's book *Nepal*, ii, 315 (Baḍā Kaji's *Vamśāvalī*) says that Amśuvarman had been adopted as son by Śivadeva I.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the chronology based on the date 880 A.D. for the beginning of the reign of Rāghavadeva, founder of the Nepal Era.



31 years, up to 813 A.D. He is related to have minted an unprecedented quantity of copper dinnāras (verse 617) which is attested by “multitudes” of his coins surviving today.<sup>1</sup> J a y ā p ī ḍ a distinguished himself both as king and scholar. He had great daring and desired to be Emperor of India. His exploits extended from the plains of Hindustan to Nepal. He was utterly defeated by the able tactics, peculiarly Nepalese, of the king of Nepal, and was taken prisoner. He was confined in a high stone-tower over the Kāla Gaṇḍikā (modern *Kālī Gaṇḍak*) until rescued by his faithful minister Devaśarman who persuaded the Nepal king to promise to release him for a ransom, and obtained an interview with his master on that pretext. This episode has been unnecessarily disbelieved by V. Smith (p. 387). The very details and circumstantial and internal evidence furnished by Kalhaṇa affirm the truth of the account. It should be remembered that it was recent history in the time of Kalhaṇa who wrote his History in 1148-1150 A.D. The account runs as follows :

J a y ā p ī ḍ a started on a *dig-vijaya* with a large cavalry and reached Prayāga (413-417). After establishing his influence by his marriage at Puṇḍravardhana where he went secretly, he defeated the king of Kānyakūbja with the help of Bengal and carried away his imperial Lion (*siṃhāsana*) Throne (471) and returned to Kashmir after three years, where he was welcomed by his people, who were keen to suppress his traitorous minister Jajja. He made Udbhaṭa, a man of letters, President of his Council, and the famous Dāmodaragupta, author of the *Kuṭṭanī-mata*, his chief minister. He put up buildings, made reforms,

<sup>1</sup> V. Smith, EH, 387.



blished a 'Moving Bank' to follow his army, and assumed the name *Vinayāditya* (517).

He went as a spy into the eastern kingdom of Bhīmasena, evidently on his border, and was taken prisoner, from which condition he escaped simulating a contagious disease. On his release he invaded the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal, which was under King *Araṃuḍi*.

King *Araṃuḍi*, endowed with the art of war and valour, a skilled tactician, planned *Jayāpīḍa*'s defeat (verse 531). He allowed *Jayāpīḍa* to enter the kingdom and retreated to 'a great distance' with his army, occasionally making himself visible to the pursuing *Jayāpīḍa* (533-34) who all the time imagined on account of his success in small encounters during the pursuit that he was having a victorious march. *J.* planted himself on the bank of a river near a large lake, to the east, when on the second or the third day he found to his 'indignation' the enemy facing him with his colours on the other side of the river. The enraged *Jayāpīḍa* ordered his army to cross the river which was only knee-deep. [The Nepalese knew their terrain and knew the use of their rivers]. The Kashmir army and their king were swept down by the current which suddenly rose and became irresistible. Cries arose from the bed of the river of distress and that of joy from the opposite bank. *Araṃuḍi* promptly had *Jayāpīḍa* caught at a great distance down the river by the alert Nepalese soldiers with the aid of skins and brought before him with his fine clothes and ornaments of royalty having been deprived by the river. The occasion was celebrated by the Nepalese. He was assigned to a tall tower of stone on the river *Kāla Gaṇḍikā* [the river now called *Kālī Gaṇḍak* in western Nepal] where he was very closely guarded by the trusted men of the 'wise king' of Nepal (546-548). Kalhana notes that ślokas composed by the king *Jayāpīḍa* in that confinement, looking down upon the free river, were recited by learned men with pathos even in his own days (550).

Then follows the proposal to king *Araṃuḍi* by the



Kashmir minister to release *Jayāpīḍa* on receiving a ransom and on condition to make Kashmir a dependency of Nepal. *Devāśarma* received permission to meet his master *Jayāpīḍa*, and affected his escape by ultimately committing suicide and thereby offering his body as a float.

This latter detail may be an exaggeration of an accident in the attempt of the minister to swim across the river with his master. But the rest of the account is a matter of fact narration recorded by Kashmir at the cost of her own reputation—a statement against her own interest.

Prof. Lévi not recognising the name in the *Vaṁśāvalī*s, declared with his Tibetan bias, the king called *Aramuḍi* to be a Tibetan. But *Kāshmirī*s knew the Tibetans too well to make a mistake like that. *Kāla Gaṇḍikā*, still called *Kālī Gaṇḍak* and the western portion of Nepal where the scene is located offer verification of the story.

In the Nepal *Vaṁśāvalī*s we have four steps above *Rāghavadeva*, founder of the Nepal Era of 880 A.D. (Bendall, *Nepal Catalogue*, p. 21; I.A., IX, 413) *Vara-deva*<sup>1</sup>. *Vara-deva* or 'King *Vara*', (771-784 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> suits the chronology to be a contemporary of *Jayāpīḍa* (782-813 A.D.). *Vara* seems to have changed into *Ara*. *Varadeva* ruled a second

<sup>1</sup>Varadeva  
Śaṅkaradeva  
Vardhamānadeva  
Balideva  
[Rāghavadeva]  
Jayadeva

The chronology from *Rāghavadeva* downwards is fully detailed and made certain by Dr. Bendall.

<sup>2</sup> See above the preceding part of this section.



time, having entered a monastery as a Buddhist monk (Wright, 142).<sup>1</sup> Or, *Ara* [in Kāshmīrī meaning hair (Grierson, *Dictionary*, p. 41)] and *mudī* (*mundita*) might denote 'monk' king.

There seems to be in the *Vamśāvalī*s, which are a record of superstitious Buddhist priests interested in glorification of Tāntrika gods and goddesses and their idols, the historical account as degenerated into a fantastic story. *Karkoṭa* is the name of the dynasty to which *Jayāpīḍa* belonged. It is also the name of a famous Nāga worshipped in Kashmir and elsewhere in India. The *Vamśāvalī*s note that *Gorakh-nath*, the saint, arrived in Nepal in the reign of *Varadeva* and arrested *Karkoṭa* Nāga and imprisoned him in a hillock (Wright, pp. 140, 143). This caused a great mischief resulting in a draught. Then king *Varadeva* sought the help of *Āchārya Bandhudatta* who rescued and released *Karkoṭa* and established happiness in the valley. *Bandhudatta* had the pleasure of crossing rivers on the body of *Karkoṭa* all the same.

Fortunately the History of Kashmir has preserved this account which illustrates the successful traditional tactics of Nepal. Throughout the historian of Kashmir has used words of high respect for the Nepal king who defeated the idol of Kāshmīr history—a most courageous figure, a most able king, an accomplished scholar, their greatest patron of men of letters and of letters—although his last days were marked with disregard for temple property which he largely

<sup>1</sup> This will fall after 784 A. D.



resumed, and contempt for the Brahmin caste, yet he remained a figure of whom Kashmir has been proud.

There is no reason to transfer from Nepal this chapter of glory to Tibet or to the domain of romance, as done by Lévi and Smith.

## XII—PALA'S CONNEXION WITH NEPAL AND NEPAL'S LATER COINAGE

In the last quarter of the eighth century, that is, in the period after Jayadeva II, the Pāla Paramountcy begins in India, which remained on the increase in the reign of *D h a r m a p ā l a* (c. 800) and *D e v a - p ā l a* (c. 850 A. D.) whose paramountcy did reach the Himalayan hill states (Kīra) and their borders (Assam). The Pāla emperors came in conflict with a Himalayan people called the *K ā m b o j a s* who broke the Pāla power for a time and who actually set themselves up at Dinajpur, where one of the routes from Nepal leads down to. This eclipse of the Pālas falls to be in the epoch when Nepal starts her own era in 880 A. D. Under *M a h ī p ā l a* I the Pāla empire recovered (about 978 or 980).<sup>1</sup> During his reign Buddhism in Tibet was revived by new missions from Bihar, and we take it that Nepal was not ignored. *N a y a P ā l a*, his successor, who defeated Karna Kalachuri was succeeded by a wicked and weak son, *M a h ī P ā l a* II, who was succeeded by the powerful *R ā m a P ā l a* (1084-1130). His rule covered Mithilā and Assam (V. Smith, E. H., 416). We have positive evidence, which had been

<sup>1</sup> V. Smith, E. H., pp. 414-415.



missed so far, that R ā m a P ā l a was the suzerain of Nepal also.

A palm-leaf manuscript—*Kubjikāmatam* which is a part of the Tāntrika Buddhist work *Kulālikāmnāya* is in the Nepal State Library (H. P. Sastri, Catalogue, p. 54) which is in Newārī characters. It notes in the colophon that the manuscript was copied under the reign of the Buddhist Emperor R ā m a p ā l a d e v a :

Parameśvara-Parama-bhaṭṭāraka

parama-Saugata-Mahārājādhirāja

Śrīmad-Rāmapāladevasya

pravardha—(i.e. pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājye).

The portion in front of *parameśvara* is read as *Rāma-devasya* which if it refers to the Nepal king has to be read as *Vāmadevasya* whose time as ascertained from manuscripts of his reign and his predecessor and successor is between 1077 and 1090 A. D. (Bendall, Nepal Catalogue, *Intro.* p. 22).

We have thus positive proof of the fact that at least in the time of R ā m a P ā l a Nepal was under Pāla suzerainty. It is very likely that under D h a r m a P ā l a and D e v a P ā l a a similar state obtained.

We do not find Nepal striking her own coins from about 800 A. D. onwards. This is probably explained by the fact of the Pāla domination, which was immediately followed by the K ā r n ā ṭ a k a domination beginning with N ā n y a d e v a. At the close of the K ā r n ā ṭ a k a period we find Nepal imitating the coin of Alauddin Khilji.<sup>1</sup> Then follows a troubled period until stability is restored under

<sup>1</sup> See separate article on the Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal in JBORS., XXII. 81.



J a y a s i t h i m a l l a<sup>1</sup> (1380-1394). Nepal acknowledged nominal suzerainty of Delhi as noted by Tavernier.<sup>2</sup> And naturally we do not find a Nepal coinage until permission for establishing a mint was obtained from the early Moghuls.

Nepal thus from 800 A. D. or at any rate from 1080 A. D. remained as part of the Indian Empire up to Moghul days in international theory, which found a tangible expression in the history of her coinage—the absence of coinage. The same is to be predicated of her in the Imperial Gupta times as well.

## B

### EARLY DYNASTIES OF NEPAL

XIII—"NIMISHA DYNASTY" [205 A.D. TO 350 A.D.]  
AND KIRATA DYNASTY [590 B.C. TO 110 A.D.]

The Varṣāvalī<sup>3</sup> other than Kirkpatrick's give five names at the close of the native K i r ā t a Dynasty and before the S ū r y a v a ṁ ś a, i.e., the L i c h - c h h a v i Dynasty of Nepal—*Nimisha* (*Nevesit*—K.)—*Manākesha* (or *Matākesha*), *Kāka-varman*, *Paśupreksha-deva* (founder of the Paśupati Temple who introduced Aryan population from Hindustan) and *Bhāskara-varman* (who conquered the whole of India, and being childless adopted *Bhūmivarman*). They call this

<sup>1</sup> There was a Khasiyā invasion (1328 A. D.—Bendall, p. 10) and to that period must belong the curious clay coins of *Mathi singha Khasiyā*. The legend, in Nāgarī, is on the milled edge.

<sup>2</sup> II. ch. XV.

<sup>3</sup> Bhagwanlal Indraji's recension summarised in I. A., XIII. 411 at 412; Wright's copy in his *History of Nepal*, 112; Lévi's copy summarised in his *Nepal*, ii. 83.



*Somavamsī* dynasty. With *Bhūmivarman* whose grandson was *Jayadeva I* (mentioned in the inscription of *Jayadeva II*) the later *Vamsāvalis* begin a new dynasty (the *Sūryavamsa*). But Kirkpatrick's authority while mentioning this adoption, does not begin a new dynasty and treats the two groups as forming one dynasty '*Nevesit*'. It begins the dynasty with *Nevesit*. This *Nevesit* is really *Nevesi* corresponding with *Nimisha* of the later works, which have really turned \**Nivisi* into *Nimisha*. '*Nivisi*' represented \**Nichivi* (\**Nisivi*) = *Nichbhivi* (Manu) = *Lichbhavi*. There was no distinct dynasty of a *Somavamsa* of the five rulers in the original authorities.

The seven rulers before *Jayadeva I* were rulers obviously in the plains, that is, at *Vaiśālī*. They annexed Nepal about 200 A. D. and established a direct government there, marking the event with the installation of *Paśupati*—which is a *Mukha-līnga* of the style of the *Nāga-Vākātakas*, i.e., of the period.<sup>1</sup> '*Nimisha*' being only the dynastic name the first ruler of Nepal would be *Mānāksha* or *Matāksha*, and the effective founder, *Paśuprekha* the third king, who is credited with the introduction of Hindu caste-rules and population (of four *varṇas*) from Hindustan, and as being the founder of *Paśupati's* Temple.

His successor *Bhāskara varman*, the great conqueror of India, is probably the grandfather of *Samudra Gupta*, and father-in-law of *Chandragupta I*. He was still probably the President

<sup>1</sup> See my *History of India*, 150-350 A. D., the plates and description of the *Nachnā* and other images.



of the Republic at Vaiśālī, for the coins of C h a n d r a G u p t a I are struck by the “*Lichchhavis*.” He seems to have defeated Magadha and evidently his dominions were large enough to entitle C h a n d r a G u p t a I to call himself *Mahārājādhirāja*. The seat of government changed from Vaiśālī to Nepal where his adopted son B h ū m i v a r m a n succeeded and the plains passed on to C h a n d r a G u p t a I and his Queen, the Lichchhavi lady. In Nepal J a y a d e v a I turned the state into a monarchy or a double kingship.

The succession seems to have stood thus :

Bhāskara-Varmā [or,-Deva]  
|  
Daughter=Chandra Gupta I  
Bhūmi-Varmā (or,-Deva)  
|  
Jayadeva I

We may roughly date the Early Lichchhavis :

c. 205 A. D.	Mānāksha
c. 230 A.D.	Kāka-varman
c. 255 A. D.	Paśuprekshadeva
c. 280-305 A. D.	Bhāskaravarman
c. 305 A. D.	Bhūmivarman
c. 330 A. D.	Chandravarman [Is he the same as Chandra- Gupta I?]
c. 340 or 350 A. D.	Jayadeva I <sup>1</sup>

The Lichchhavi monarchy in Nepal probably retained its original character of divided sovereignty,

<sup>1</sup> This date is calculated on the basis of Jayadeva II's inscription : See Fleet, *GI, I*. p. 189; and other data in the section on Lichchhavi list, *supra*.



otherwise the position of Amśuvarman's dictatorship and Śivadeva's sovereignty is not explicable. Probably even before Amśuvarman some similar arrangement obtained.

Nimisha is said to have displaced the K i r ā t a Dynasty in Nepal—(205 A.D.).

The original K i r ā t a Dynasty which is the first dynasty of Nepal had 28 kings.<sup>1</sup> It was under the 15th Kirāta—S t h u n k o—that A ś o k a visited Nepal. According to the Nepal Chronicles the autonomy of Nepal was maintained by A ś o k a under the K i r ā t a dynasty. This may or may not be correct, as A ś o k a's son-in-law D e v a p ā l a and his daughter became permanent residents there. After A ś o k a and D a ś a r a t h a the original dynasty would have revived in Nepal Proper. In the Western part of Nepal in Ś u ŋ g a times we find silver coins of Śuŋga princes (S u m i t r a)<sup>2</sup>, Imperial and local (Ś i v a p ā l i t a). It is possible that early Ś u ŋ g a s might have exercised suzerainty over Nepal. But the continuous line of the K i r ā t a House entitles us to assume a continuous autonomy. The succession of 15 kings from the time of A ś o k a and S t h u n k o would bring the dynasty to about 110 A. D. [see below].

We have thus a gap between the K i r ā t a and the L i c h c h h a v i epochs—110 A. D. and 205 A. D.

<sup>1</sup> The Gupta and Ahīr dynasties introduced before the Kirātas (600 B. C.-110 A. D.) who are treated again with the kings of the Sixth and Seventh centuries A.D. are really misplaced here; it simply signifies that Hindu history in Nepal begins with the Gupta Period.

<sup>2</sup> Almora coins of alloyed silver; JBORS, XX. 301.



—which is not filled up by the written history of Nepal.

Here coins come to our help. Mr. E. H. Walsh has recorded (JRAS., 1908, p. 677) that a hoard of Kushan coins was dug up in the neighbourhood of Kāthmāṇḍu. They were coins of Wema Kadphises and of Kanishka. It seems that the Kushan rule might fill this gap of hundred years. Though evidence is not yet conclusive.

The beginning of the Kirāta dynasty (13 generations before Aśoka) is to be dated about 600 B. C.

### *The Kirāta Kings*

Omitting *Yalamva* and *Pavi* [omitted in K.], as belonging to the Second Kirāta dynasty of the sixth century ( § VII ), the approximate dates of the kings of the First Kirāta Dynasty will be as calculated below on the basis of the date of Sthunko, contemporary of Aśoka :

2.	Dhaskam	..	..	..	C. 590 B.C.
3.	Valamva	..	..	..	C. 565 B.C.
4.	Hṛiti	..	..	..	C. 540 B.C.
5.	Humati	..	...	..	C. 515 B.C.
6.	[Tuskhah] K.	..	..	..	C. 490 B.C.
7.	Jitedāsti [Sroopast-K.]	..	..	..	C. 465 B.C.
8.	[Galimja]	..	..	..	C. 440 B.C.
9.	P (T)ushka Pamcham (K.)	..	..	..	C. 415 B.C.
10.	Suyarma [King-king-king (K.)]	..	..	..	C. 390 B.C.
11.	Parba [Soonand-K.]	..	..	..	C. 365 B.C.
12.	Thuṅka [Thoomoo-K.]	..	..	..	C. 340 B.C.
13.	Kemke	..	..	..	C. 315 B.C.
14.	Svananda [Jaighree-K.]	..	..	..	C. 290 B.C.
15.	Sthunko [contemporary of Aśoka]	..	..	..	C. 265 B.C.
16.	Gighri [Suenkeh-K.]	..	..	..	C. 240 B.C.



17.	Nane [Thoor-K.]	..	..	..	C. 215 B.C.
18.	Luk [Thamoo-K.]	..	..	..	C. 190 B.C.
19.	Thor [Barmah-K.]	..	..	..	C. 165 B.C.
20.	Thoko [Ganjeh-K.]	..	..	..	C. 140 B.C.
21.	Varma [Kashkoon-K.]	..	..	..	C. 115 B.C.
22.	Guja [Teeshoo-K.]	..	..	..	C. 90 B.C.
23.	Pushka [Soogmeea-K.]	..	..	..	C. 65 B.C.
24.	Kesu [Joosha-K.]	..	..	..	C. 40 B.C.
25.	Suga [Gontho-K.]	..	..	..	C. 15 B.C.
26.	Sansa [Khembhoom-K.]	..	..	..	C. 10 A.D.
27.	Gunan [Galijang-K.]	..	..	..	C. 35 A.D.
28.	Khimbu	..	..	..	C. 60 A.D.
29.	Patuka	..	..	..	C. 85 A.D.
30.	Gasti	..	..	..	C. 110 A.D.

It may be noted that the popular tradition in Nepal today is that the first dynasty of Nepal was *Kirāṭi*, second *Newārī*, and lastly *Gorkhā*.

## C A RETROSPECT

### XIV

The history of Nepal is a part of the history of India and of the Hindu Race. The valley was colonized by the Hindus both consciously and by natural process of expansion. Yet it is the history of a colony, with its distinctive features. Those features may be summarised in this way. The ruling dynasties, though mostly Hindus from the plains of India—the Mauryas, the Lichchhavis, the Kārṇāṭakas, the Gorkhas—have a tendency to establish a system of divided sovereignty which works happily in that happy valley of Paśupati. There is much less cause



for jealousy in that system on the soil of Nepal than anywhere else. Joint rules and regencies are a familiar problem in the Lichchhavi times, in the Thākuri times, in the Malla times and in the Gurkha times—two kings occupying the same town or contiguous towns afford a picture of a Mitāksharā family agreeing upon, as we say in Hindu law, a ‘division for the convenience of enjoyment’ rather than upon an actual division by metes and bounds. This divided sovereignty would baffle theorists of political science but has been a familiar, good working system in Nepal.

There is always a sort of internal weakness, but to the outside world Nepal has always shown strength. Throughout her history there has been no case of traitorous betrayal. Internally weak, but externally strong is again a political problem which is explainable by its republican origin noticed above. Nepal’s whole history bears out the rule that the little kingdom can defend itself most effectively—it defeated Tibet in her palmiest days when Tibet was the first power in Asia, it defeated Kashmir when Kashmir was the first power in India, it defeated King Shamsuddin, the most brilliant Muslim soldier of the 14th century. Small, and ‘internally weak,’ Nepal is a successful state against the invader. And why? Its republican Lichchhavi origin explains the mystery. Its strong political sense is a Lichchhavi heritage.

Nepal has been in Hindu times mostly a member of the Indian Empire. But for centuries, being situated between two large empires—China and India—Nepal has evolved a wise international policy,



wherein she has hardly ever taken a false step. Owing to that wise policy, her international position today is such as it had probably never been before. She enjoys and rightly the complete confidence of her powerful neighbour.





AN ACCOUNT OF FIROZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ  
(From *Sirat-i-Firoz Shāhi*)

(In continuation of JBORS XXII. Part II. Page 107.)

By PROF. K. K. BASU, M.A., T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur

VERSE

(Oh Emperor!)

None conceive that ye should bend down thy head  
For the Kayanian<sup>1</sup> crown to cast its shade over  
thee.

It's humility thou hast shown, for, the people  
Know, the Jupiter glories not in a mantle!

Aḥmad Ayāz threw open the door of insurrection at Delhi. Having cast aside servitude and laid the foundation of contest and rebellion, he spent the public money and the jewels in drawing up an army. He joined his hands with the forces of the enemies, drew out the sword of malevolence from the sheathe of amity and placed the oppressors and the tyrants to domineer over the inhabitants of the city (Delhi). The disorder and disturbance caused by this rebel were fomented and stimulated during the absence of His Majesty (from Delhi), or else, how could he, in the presence of the Emperor, dare to tamper with the people's safety and extend his hands

<sup>1</sup> کيائين and کيائين "great kings," the surname of the second dynasty of the Persian Kings.



(of oppression) over the life and property of the citizens.

VERSE

The tie (of security) was snapped, so that  
To the Almighty complaints were made.  
The malevolent seized the gentle,  
In life and property none was safe :  
Not a vestige of compassion left in the city,  
No repose in the city nor peace among people.  
In malice their hearts the tyrant scratched,  
And for the treasury was no safety left.

The rebel Ayāz led astray the people of the country and placed in confinement the inhabitants of Delhi, in order that, the simple natured and patriotic soldiery who attended the stirrup of the Emperor, might be drawn to his side. Possessing abominable rebellious disposition, he held his head high and took recourse to deception. His Majesty, the refuge of the people, May God his Kingdom perpetuate ! On receipt of this information set out with continuous marches towards Delhi.

## VERSE

(An Emperor such that)  
His sword removed the wrinkles from the face of  
the Heavens,  
His justice removed the curve of the bow,  
His scimitar read out the *Khutba* of conquest and  
victory,  
His justice bore happy news of peace and safety.



The pestilential wind of his anger in the thick of  
 battle  
 Poured like sweat the brain of the enemy into his  
 mouth.

None but ye the crown is becoming,  
 The country for ever should place its trust on thee !  
 By the Grace of God, the khāns, maliks, amirs,  
 zemindars, title-holders, Hindurajas, nobles and  
 plebeians of Siwistan, Multan, Lahore, the renowned  
 city of Dipalpur, Sāmāna and Sannam drew up their  
 forces and marched out for the purpose of meeting  
 the Emperor.

#### VERSE

All kings of renown placed themselves before him.  
 Kings of mature judgment entrusted their shoulder  
 to him.

They (the Khāns, the Maliks etc.) put on the  
 ring of servitude on their ears and placed the burden  
 of slavery on their shoulders. When, at the pro-  
 pitious conjunction of the stars, the Emperor reached  
 Fatehābād (Delhi), the well-wishers (of the State)  
 handed over the key of sovereignty to him and with  
 it their good wishes and sympathy. His adversaries  
 were covered with the robes of destruction.

#### VERSE

(Oh Emperor !)  
 Each of your enemies in a manner different  
 And at the lapse of time the Age ran down ;  
 One died, the other The Lord by thy dagger  
 Cut off the throat, (and) the third with his family  
 mowed down.



Sovereigns lie prostrate before (thee) the Jewel  
(among Emperors).

Because under thy feet God has immeasurably  
scattered prosperity.

The enemies and the age discarded their foul play  
When thy destiny cast its fortunate appearance in  
the world!

Out of fear of the Emperor's anger that victimizes the enemies, disquietude and perturbation came upon the obstinate. Aḥmad Ayāz followed the multitude. Sometime ago, Aḥmad was a well-wisher of His Majesty, but the spacious world appeared to him very small like the point of (the alphabet) *Mīm* or the hole in the precious jewel and he could derive no benefit out of the commerce that he carried on (meaning friendship with the Emperor). Him the intelligent showed the right path (of servitude) but he refused to follow their advice.

# VERSE

The court of the Emperor resemble the ocean,  
The virtuous are sailors and Virtue a vessel;  
He is excellent in this world,  
Whose actions make the Emperor smile with merri-  
ment.

If thou wishest to share wealth, make effort  
And place thy ears always on his (Emperor's)  
mandate.

It behoveth thee not to take leave of his orders  
Or to turn away from his compact!

Howsoever Ahmad tried to take recourse to flight, the road of deliberation was for him closed,



and it was so on account of the felicity of the Emperor, the refuge of the world !

#### VERSE

The tone that the country received from you  
No tulip (ever) received from the river-bank !  
The enemy who ran away from thee  
Found not any way of escape on any side.

Those who had joined Aḥmad Ayāz turned themselves away from him out of fear of the Emperor, the world-grasper<sup>1</sup> and placed their hands of obedience upon the dust of the court.

#### VERSE

Where on the earth are those rebels today  
Whose necks are not in the collar of the Emperor's fiat ?  
The munificent palms of thy hand (oh Emperor !)  
is a ocean in pouring liberality  
Whose confines extend to the shores of *Tasnīm* !  
The Zephyr with its odour of rose bears relation  
with thy (benevolent) nature,  
In thousand tales and with numerous tongues  
people talk of it.

The partisaṅs of Aḥmad Ayāz made a representation of their helplessness to His Majesty and prayed to him for their freedom from confinement.

#### VERSE

From the withered heart of the oppressed the  
words of the petition emerged,

<sup>1</sup> The name of a fountain in paradise.



From eyes overflowing of beautiful face its (petition) head line came out.

Thus appeal the jaded heart and the heart burnt—  
“Oh Emperor ! Fortune and Religion are festive and hopeful (on account of thy existence).”

The Young are discourteous to the old,

The Frivolous domineers over the Wise,

The Avaricious afflict the Nobles,

The Irreligious distress the Holy people.

Oh, Emperor of the world ! save the people from  
such calamity,

Oh, Jewel pure ! free the country from such  
tyranny.

The time is such that retaliation be made at the  
point of lance,

The place is such that thy sword should take  
vengeance;

The men of substance have left the country on  
some plea,

(But) The poor cannot run away; they look forward to you !

Show mercy to those that have been dishonoured,  
And to those that have been cited in the stories.

Oh, King ! from thee there should be battle, and  
from Fortune help and assistance

Oh, Emperor ! from thee resolution and from God  
Victory.

Oh, Sovereign exalted ! excessive grace

God has blessed you with and the country too !

God, The Glorious and Most High, has entrusted  
the Sultan with the task of setting the oppressed  
at liberty and providing a panacea for the ills of the



wretched, like us. The nobles are harassed by the miscreants and the generous are oppressed by the workers of iniquity.

VERSE

The nobles scratched their ears  
And raised lamentation from grief and distress of  
the heart.

The spine of the excellent (people) was broken  
While the Fools received support !

Meanwhile, Khān-i-Jahān, the chief Vizier of  
the court, to whom Prosperity was a guide and  
Fortune an escort, (and a person for whom)

VERSE

The banner of sovereignty reached the celestial  
globe;

The Vizierate found no other vizier like him.

For him melted withered tyranny in the palate of  
the world.

And the water of life (of the tyrants) trickled at  
the point of his sword;

For fear of his banner, like the shooting stars  
Hundreds of (evil) spirits left the country, one  
upon the other.

accompanied by sons and grandsons made his way  
to the Emperor, the chosen of God, May He per-  
petuate his kingdom !

VERSE

(Oh, Emperor !)

Before thy disposition and power, liberality and  
speech,



The ocean (pales into insignificance) and the  
tongue stammers.  
Tradition runs, (that) it is for thee that there is  
water in the river,  
Story goes, it is for thy power that clouds appear  
in the rainy seasons.  
In Emperor's service proficiency attains excellence,  
Contact with him makes the jewel precious.  
The world the body, thou it's life, and the world  
is alive for thee,  
Thou art to the world as the life is to the body !

VERSE .

In the refuge of thy custody, for the safety of the  
herd,  
The wolf in affairs of secrecy speaks with the  
shepherd.  
So long the world does not bring forth fruits of  
conquest and victory  
His (Emperor's) anger plants an arrow on the  
eyes of the enemies !

The vizier and his party received eminence by licking the dust of the court and thus obtaining felicity in this world and hereafter, and were by special favours made prominent over the other pillars of state.

VERSE

Hark ! before thy greatness (oh minister !) conjecture is feeble,  
Behold ! before thy superiority intellect is astonished.



Like Kisra,<sup>1</sup> Faghfur,<sup>2</sup> the kings of India<sup>3</sup> and  
Tartary<sup>4</sup>

The Sultan possesses many a slave like thee,  
For thy excellent conduct (oh vizier !)  
The Sultan renders princely honour to thee !

The title of *Khān-i-Jahān*, a designation that had never been conferred on any other vizier since the beginning of the world, was bestowed upon him as a special mark of distinction; he was also made conspicuous by the bestowal of immense kingly favours, presents and compassion upon him.

#### VERSE

It's for this (oh vizier !) the Sultan loves thee;  
Thy countenance is for him lucky.  
None is more sympathetic to thee than he,  
And none more sincere than thee in the army !

After the (said) incident, (the other) amirs and maliks, for the most part, came out of that accursed body (of rebel).

#### VERSE

Oh King ! thy custody when thou wishest  
Bestows safety to brimstone from the fury of fire.  
To him really the sovereignty is entrusted  
Whom thy ordinance gives shelter under the  
(royal) umbrella !

From the heat of excessive fear they (the amirs and maliks) took shelter under the shadow of

<sup>1</sup> کسری The surname of several kings of Persia, like Ptolemy among the Egyptians, or Caesar with the Romans.

<sup>2</sup> The general name of the Emperors of China.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads, چہ پال

<sup>4</sup> خاقان



imperial commiseration and in the refuge of royal protection. Later on Aḥmad Ayāz who had made a show of arms (now) became perturbed and he found no other way than in apologising and submissively going along the imperial train. Thus Time, the skilful physician, while attending to the disease of vanity applied his remedy to the (deranged) brain (of Aḥmad Ayāz) for awakening him from the sleep (of self-conceit) and brought out the cotton of negligence from his ears of understanding and made to trickle the drops of lesson down his overweening nose. Aḥmad Ayāz became ashamed of his evil actions and took recourse to the court with weeping eyes.

The Sultan, May God maintain his sovereignty, blurted out, "I do not intend to cause any material harm to any person and have no other end in view than that of bestowing presents, favour, sympathy and kindness upon the nobles and the common people." "Those who," the Sultan further declared, "regard themselves as being excluded from the (royal) compassion can speak out; their own actions are responsible for their evil fortune and not I!"

#### VERSE

The star canopus<sup>1</sup> revolves round the earth  
At some places it makes soft skins<sup>2</sup> and at others  
it makes skins perfumed.

<sup>1</sup> The star canopus is also supposed to give red colour to stones.

<sup>2</sup> انبان soft skins (of goats etc.) of the finest kind such as they call Spanish or Cordova leather.



## Miscellaneous Articles

### PROFESSOR WINTERNITZ ON THE KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

By PROF. DASHARATHA SHARMA

In the Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume Prof. M. Winternitz contributes a learned paper on 'historical dramas in Indian Literature.' Dealing with the Kaumudīmahōtsava therein he criticises Mr. K. P. Jayaswal for assigning the drama to 340 A.D. and assuming that 'Chandāsena was no other than the king who assumed the name of Chandragupta after his grandfather's name. He gives the following reasons for his views :

(a) 'It is difficult to see how the worthy Chandragupta I, whose father Ghatotkacha was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pāṭaliputra, who was the third king of the Gupta line, and the first Mahārājādhirāja of the dynasty, could be possibly identical with the cursed 'Chandāsena,' the traitor and usurper.'

(b) 'A verse which occurs twice (Acts II, 15, and V, 9) alludes to the love of Śaunaka and Bandhumatī, told in Daṇḍin's Avantisundarī-kathā, and that of Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī, the subject of the Avimāraka ascribed to Bhāsa.'

(c) The authoress was well acquainted with Kalidāsa's poetry.



- (d) The drama 'has some points of contact with the Mudrārākṣasa.'
- (e) 'The old viṭa (in Act V) who revels in remembrances of the pleasures enjoyed in the company of hetaeras.....reminds us more of the modern Bhāṇas, than of pre-Kālidāsan poetry.'

At first sight Dr. Winternitz's position seems to be the right one. But it is unfortunately vitiated by a number of flaws overlooked by the learned writer while criticising Mr. Jayaswal's thesis. If it could be proved that Chandragupta's father Ghaṭōtkacha was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pāṭaliputra, as asserted by Dr. Winternitz, Mr. Jayaswal would have no case, worth the name, left to fight for and substantiate. But as far as my knowledge goes, there is not a single inscription, new or old, to bear out the learned Doctor's statement. Chandragupta's father is invariably mentioned, not as the ruler of Magadha, but merely as Mahārāja Ghaṭōtkacha, and must have been therefore like many others a feudatory *sāmanta*, owning allegiance to the Magadha family. His son, the future Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta I of the Gupta inscriptions, is known to have married into the Lichchhavi family, and increased his political power thereby. The Kaumudīmahōtsava says the same thing about Chaṇḍasena. It is, therefore, by no bold flight of sheer imagination but by legitimate historical deduction that Mr. Jayaswal concludes that Chandragupta I and Chaṇḍasena of the drama are identical. That Chaṇḍasena is the Prākṛta form of Chaṇḍasena does not perhaps need any demonstration.



It is found as such in inscriptions as well as coins.<sup>1</sup> Further as pointed out by me in the note 'Chandāsena of the Kaumudīmahōtsava,<sup>2</sup> the Sanskrit name Chandra is itself alluded to in the verse.

वहमाणो रेवइ मुह महुमअणिव्वत्तिअं उदयराअं ।  
साभळवसणकलङ्को सोहइ चंदव्व बळभद्दो ॥  
(वहन् रेवतीमुखमधुनिर्वर्तितमुदयरागम् ।  
श्यामलवसनकलङ्को शोभते चन्द्र इव बलभद्रः ॥ )<sup>3</sup>

To quote from the note 'Here Mantragupta's spy, wandering in the guise of a musician, speaks not only of the moon, but also of Chandra, the Gupta ruler. Both can be described as श्यामलवसनकलङ्क, the one on account of the dark spots on her surface, and the other on account of the sin incurred by the slaughter of his adoptive father. The phrase वहन् रेवतीमुखमधुनिर्वर्तितमुदयरागम् is clear in its application to the moon. But it has also a covert reference to Chandragupta whose उदय 'rise' was brought about (निर्वर्तित) by his marriage with a Lichchhavi princess.'

We can have other reasons too for the equation of Chandragupta and Chandāsena. The drama calls the latter a Kāraskara. Now the Kāraskaras are, as

<sup>1</sup> 'For Chandra becoming Chanda in Prākṛita see the inscription of Chandāsati, the Sātavahana King, published in E.I. Vol. XVIII, p. 317, and coins of Śrī Chandra Sāti where Chandra becomes Chanda.'

(Jayaswal's History of India, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., pp. 113-114).

The Prākṛita name Chandāsena is turned into Chandrasirīha by Kṣemendra. Somadeva, however, gives it as Chandāsena in his Sanskrit version of Bṛhatkathā. This shows that the Prākṛita Chanda has been always regarded as the equivalent of not merely Chanda, but also of Chandra. (See Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 321).

<sup>2</sup> JBORS, Vol. XXI, 1935, Part I.

<sup>3</sup> Kaumudīmahōtsava, IV, 2.



rightly pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal, a subdivision of the Madras or Jartikas. So in other words the *Kaumudīmahōtsava* calls Chandragupta a Jartika or Jāt. If inscriptional or literary evidence were to conflict with the statements of the drama, we should have every reason to doubt the truth of the latter. But curiously enough it does not. Chandragōmin's illustration 'the Jarta (King) defeated the Hūnas,' proves that the Guptas were Jāts. The Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā gives their gotra as Dhāraṇa. Now these Dhāraṇas still survive as Dhāraṇiyā Jāts, or Jāts of the Dhāraṇagotra in the Bikaner State, and the adjoining districts of the Punjab. I have sometimes even felt that even the Kāraskarāḥ are represented by Karavāsara Jāts of these parts. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the Jāts here still use the word gotra for these caste-subdivisions of theirs.<sup>1</sup>

So much about the equation of Chandasena and Chandragupta would, I think, suffice to prove the reasonableness of Mr. Jayaswal's view. We now turn to the literary allusions and points of resemblance which Prof. Winternitz adduces to prove the late date of the *Kaumudīmahōtsava*. The reference to the love of Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī, the subject of the *Avimāraka*, ascribed to Bhāsa does not go far to prove the learned Professor's contention. In the first place the thirteen Trivandrum plays are now generally admitted to have been actually written by Bhāsa, the poet whose dramatic works are referred

<sup>1</sup> cf. JBORS, XXII, p. 109 on the caste of the Guptas as recorded in Nepal chronicles.



to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Harṣacharita*. Secondly the story was well known in the time of *Vātsyāyana*, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, who is believed to have flourished somewhere in the 4th century. Its popularity in or about 340 A.D. can be shown by *Vātsyāyana*'s statement that 'when a woman shows signs of listening favourably to the proposals of a lover she should be won over by the reciting of the stories of *Ahalyā*, *Avimāraka*, *Sakuntalā*, and other popular heroes and heroines.'<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, the story is given in full by the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, a work based on the *Bṛhatkathā* of *Guṇādhya* who is placed in the first or second century A. D. by *Bühler*.<sup>2</sup> We therefore fail to see how the allusion to this story proves the late date of the *Kaumudī-mahōtsava*.

Reference to the love of *Saunaka* and *Bandhumatī* would be more to the point, if we could be sure that the story occurs for the first time in *Avantisundarī*. But as pointed out by *Dr. S. K. De*, it is rather a late work written after the manner and model of the *Bṛhatkathā*.<sup>3</sup> There is nothing very original about it. It takes its stories from various sources. Many of them are to be found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, and the whole of the story of *Kādambarī*, as set forth up to the end of *Bāṇa*'s portion of the work, is interpolated in chapter V of the *Kathāsāra*.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore quite

<sup>1</sup> शृण्वत्यां चाहल्याविमारकशाकुन्तलादीन्यन्यान्यापि लौकिकानि कथयेद् युक्तानि (*Kāmasūtra*, *Nirṇayasāgara* edition, p. 278).

<sup>2</sup> See *Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III. p. 401.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dr. De's article*.



probable that it took its story from the same source which had been utilised some centuries earlier by the authoress of the *Kaumudīmahōtsava*. The way in which the love of Śaunaka and Bandhumatī is referred to in the drama shows that in the time of the authoress the story was as well known as that of *Avimāraka* and *Kuraṅgī*, and was not confined to the pages of some imperfectly known book like the *Avantisundarī-kathā*. It was most probably one of the 'युक्तलौकिक' stories which according to *Vātsyāyana*, the lover was to tell a girl whom he wished to win over for himself.

The other arguments adduced by Dr. Winter-nitz are as inconclusive. The authoress's acquaintance with *Kālidāsa*'s poetry is not to me an evidence of the late date of the *Kaumudīmahōtsava*, but of an earlier date than usually assigned for *Kālidāsa*, the premier poet of India. *Kālidāsa*'s alleged reference to *Diṇnāga*, his knowledge of scientific astronomy derived from the Greeks, his reference to the *Hūṇas*, and other similar arguments adduced to place him in the Gupta Period have been already refuted by Prof. *Kṣetreśachandra Chattopadhyaya* in his 'Date of *Kālidāsa* (*Allahabad University Studies*. Vol. II),' and need not be repeated here. The argument from points of contact with the *Mudrārākṣasa* cannot bear out the learned Doctor's contention unless he first proves that it is the *Kaumudīmahōtsava* and not the *Mudrārākṣasa* that is the borrower. And as regards the old viṭa (in Act V) who revels in remembrances of the pleasures enjoyed in the company of hetaeras, he is to be found not merely in modern *Bhāṇas*, but



also in old Sanskrit dramas. The *Mṛchchhakatika*, for instance, makes us familiar with a *viṭa* accompanying the courtesan *Vasantasenā* to the house of her lover *Chārudatta*. In fact the company of hetaeras is necessary for a *viṭa* of the Sanskrit drama. The *Kāmasūtra* of *Vātsyāyana* defines a *viṭa* as 'भुक्तविभवस्तु गुणवान् सकलत्रो वेशे गोष्ठ्याञ्च बहुमतस्तदुपजीवी' and the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* of *Bhōja* adopts this definition with slight verbal changes. *Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra* calls him *वेश्योपचारकुशल*<sup>1</sup> and provides for his employment in many types of dramas. So the occurrence of a *viṭa* having his reminiscences of days passed in the houses of courtesans should remind Dr. Winternitz not merely of modern *Bhāṇas*, but also of the old dramas on whose basis the authors of the *Kāmasūtra*, *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana*, and *Nāṭyaśāstra* framed their well-known definitions.

Thus the arguments examined above are not convincing enough to make us assert that 'there is no justification at all for assigning this "Kaumudī-mahōtsava" drama to 340 A.D.' On the other hand the prologue makes it out to be a work contemporary with *Kalyāṇavarman* at whose court the drama was performed for the first time. Now this *Kalyāṇavarman* was the rival of the usurper *Chandrasena*, identified with *Chandragupta I* by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. As long as this identification is not disproved by means of convincing arguments, and really conclusive literary evidence is not adduced to prove the

<sup>1</sup> XXXV, 55 (*Kāśī Sanskrit Series* edition).



modernity of the drama, there is evidently not much ground for the assertion that 'it is utterly improbable' that the Kaumudimahōtsava belongs to such an early age as the Gupta Period.





## Reviews and Notices of Books

VEDĀNGA JYAUTISHA. Edited by *Mahā-mahopādhyāya, Arthaśāstraviśārada, Vidyālañkāra, Paṇḍitarāja* Dr. R. Shamasastri, B. A., Ph. D., Mysore, 1936, 8 × 5½", pp. i—xvii, 1—35, 1—61.

In this timely book the veteran scholar has returned to his early love. The Vedāṅgajyautisha is one of the six Aṅgas of the Vedas, determining the time of the Vedic rites; it is found in two recensions—the R̥gvedajyautisha (36 verses) and Yajurvedajyautisha (44 verses). It may be dated about 850 B.C. on the basis of the date of Varāhamihira about 550 A. D. Dr. Shamasastri has adopted the text of Dr. Thibaut excepting a slight modification in the reading of verse 13. Dr. Shamasastri differs from the explanations offered by S. B. Dikshit, Barhaspatya, Sudhakar Dvivedi and Tilak, and utilises new sources in the Sūryaprajñapti, the Jyautishakaranda and the Kālālokaprakāśa of the Jains.

This *flair* for new sources makes this doyen of south-Indian Indologists more modern and more scientific than the youngest aspirant for scientific modernity. Thus Dr. Gorakh Prasad in J.B.O.R.S., 1935, vol. XXX, p. 136, repeats the orthodox faith regarding the date of the Jyautisha as the 12th cent. B.C. based on its description of the position of the winter solstice as coincident with the first point of



Śraviṣṭhā. Dr. Gorakh Prasad ignores that judging by the location of the solstitial point in his works, Varāhamihira would be in A. D. 332 whereas he actually lived about 550 A.D. The Brahmins immediately following recognised this error by taking to the Siddhāntas, leaving only the roughest calculation to the Vedāṅgajyautisha in spite of the latter's age and sanctity. As Dr. Shamasastri aptly admonishes—"The modern orthodox astronomers of India who blindly cling to the Siddhāntas may take a lesson from this and reform their calendar in the light of modern scientific astronomy" (pp. iii—iv).

The publication is timely in more ways than one. Recent archæological discoveries in the Indus Valley have brought to light a civilisation as old as 3,000—2,800 B.C. The connection between this civilisation and Vedic literature is still controversial. But any accepted reference in Vedic literature to an astronomical observation datable between 3,000 and 2,000 B.C. will have a direct bearing on the question. In 1894, Jacobi and Tilak put together the various astronomical data. Bühler, in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1894, pp. 238 ff. gives a very sympathetic *résumé* of their interpretations by Jacobi ('Age of the Veda') and Tilak ('Orion'). It must be admitted, however, that the attempt to read astronomical evidence in every stray observation of a constellation was not convincing, and Whitney's estimate of Tilak "extracting moon-beams from a cucumber" lacked in courtesy rather than cuteness.

Of late, however, a less ambitious but soberer approach has indicated better results. On the ana-



logy that in the 6th century A.D. the Nakṣatras were made to begin with Aśvinī due to the coincidence of the vernal equinox with the beginning of Aśvinī, it has been suggested that the list of Nakṣatras drawn up in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa begins with the Kṛttikās because the Kṛttikās were coincident with the vernal equinox (Śat. Br., ii. 1, 2, 3; J.B.O.R.S., XXI, p. 126-7).

Dr. Shamasastri in his able Introduction to the Vedāṅgajyautisha has refuted the only serious objection to this analogy. Thibaut had objected on the ground that it would involve "the assumption that the sun and not the moon, was then regarded as connected with the Nakṣatras." (I.A., xxiv, 96). From the Vedāṅgajyautisha, Dr. Shamasastri makes it abundantly clear that the scheme was called a tied lunar calendar, i.e., 'a lunar calendar so constructed that it may periodically fall into line with the solar year (Introd. p. v.). According to the Kṛttikā calculation the date of the observation in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa would be about 2,500 B. C. much nearer to the objective evidence of 3,000—2,800 B. C.

Dr. Shamasastri's Sanskrit commentary is admirable—informing yet precise. It throws into relief the function of the book as an important phase in the evolution of Hindu astronomy.

*A. Banerji-Sastri.*



## A NEW ARTHAŚĀSTRA COMMENTARY

The Jayamaṅgalā commentary on books I, II and part of III of the Kauṭīliya made known by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvāchaspati Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. through the last volume of his Catalogue is going to be published in this Journal.

K. P. J.





*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and  
Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, July 26, 1936.*

*Present*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James  
(Vice-President in the Chair)

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Sham Bahadur

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Fazl Ali

Mr. J. L. Hill

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Council held on March 15, 1936.
2. Resolved on a motion from the Chair that the Council put on record its sorrow and its recognition of the loss that the Society has sustained through the death of Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, Joint Secretary and Honorary Librarian of the Society.  
Resolved further that the Council on behalf of the Society forward its condolence to the bereaved family.
3. Passed the accounts for the months March to June, 1936.
4. Passed the annual accounts for the year 1935-36.
5. Passed the revised budget for 1936-37 and the budget estimate for 1937-38.



6. Resolved that the following sums be put to the credit of the Society in the Post Office Savings Bank when they fall due:
  - (a) the sum of Rs. 717-8-0 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 2, 1936.
  - (b) the sum of Rs. 1025 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 2, 1936.
  - (c) the sum of Rs. 693-5-3 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 9, 1936.
7. Read letter No. 19, dated June 12, 1936, from the Joint Secretary, Vijayanagar Commemoration Volume requesting contributions.  
Resolved that the request be given publicity through the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal.
8. Considered the appointment of a Joint Secretary and Honorary Librarian to the Society.  
Resolved that the matter be deferred until after the appointment of a Curator to the Patna Museum.
9. On a motion of Dr. Jayaswal, seconded by Dr. Banerji-Sastri resolved that the Council record its grateful thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James for editing the Buchanan Patna Gaya Report.

J. L. HILL

*Honorary General Secretary*

27-7-1936



*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, the 27th September, 1936.*

*Present*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James  
(in the Chair)

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Sham Bahadur

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri

Mr. J. L. Hill

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the Council held on July 26, 1936.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for July and August, 1936.
3. Confirmed the payment of the following bills:—

(a) Allahabad Law Journal Press:—

Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
„	3-1-1936	Printing Journal September issue, 1935 ..	316	11	0
„	14-12-1935	Packing and forwarding above ..	2	0	0
„	25-3-1936	Printing December issue, 1935 ..	388	8	0
„	18-3-1936	Printing of plates ..	25	2	0
„	„	Packing and forwarding December issue 1935 ..	2	4	0
„	„	Packing and forwarding December Reprints 1935 .. ..	0	8	0



Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
„	16-5-1936	Printing Journal March issue 1936 .. ..	458	14	0
(b)	Miss Anstey's bill dated 16-5-1936 for preparing Buchanan's Bha- galpur Report typescript ..		176	10	9
(c)	United Press Bill dated 25-7-1936 for printing Catalogue of Mithila Manuscript, Vol. III ..		976	3	0
(d)	Indian Photo Engraving Co.—				

Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
8540	28-8-1938	Making blocks and printing plates for June Issue, 1936 ..	263	15	0
8475	15-6-1936	Making blocks and printing plates for June Issue, 1936 ..	28	2	0

4. Passed the following Bills for payment:—

Allahabad Law Journal Press:—

Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
„	21-7-1936	Packing and for- warding Index and Title page, 1935 ..	1	0	0
370	10-9-1935	Printing and for- warding Index and Title page, 1935 ..	41	4	9
369	10-9-1935	Printing Journal June issue, 1936 ..	291	2	3
354	7-9-1936	Packing and for- warding issue, 1936	2	0	0



5. Elected Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri to represent the Society during the next session of the Sanskrit Convocation.

6. Read letter No. 3075, 14-8-36, of August 21, 1936, from the Honorary Director, Adyar Library.

Resolved that the Adyar Library be informed that the Council regret that the Journals asked for cannot be supplied free of charge.

7. Read letter No. 1045, dated July 27, 1936 from the Curator, the Kesari and the Mahratta Library, Poona.

Resolved that the Curator be informed that the Council regret that it is unable to place the Kesari and the Mahratta on the Society's exchange list.

8. Read letter No. 719, dated August 17, 1936, from the Honorary General Secretary, Indian Library Association, Calcutta.

Resolved that the Honorary General Secretary be informed that, though it is impossible to appoint a special Reference Librarian, all possible help will be given to research workers using the Society's Library.

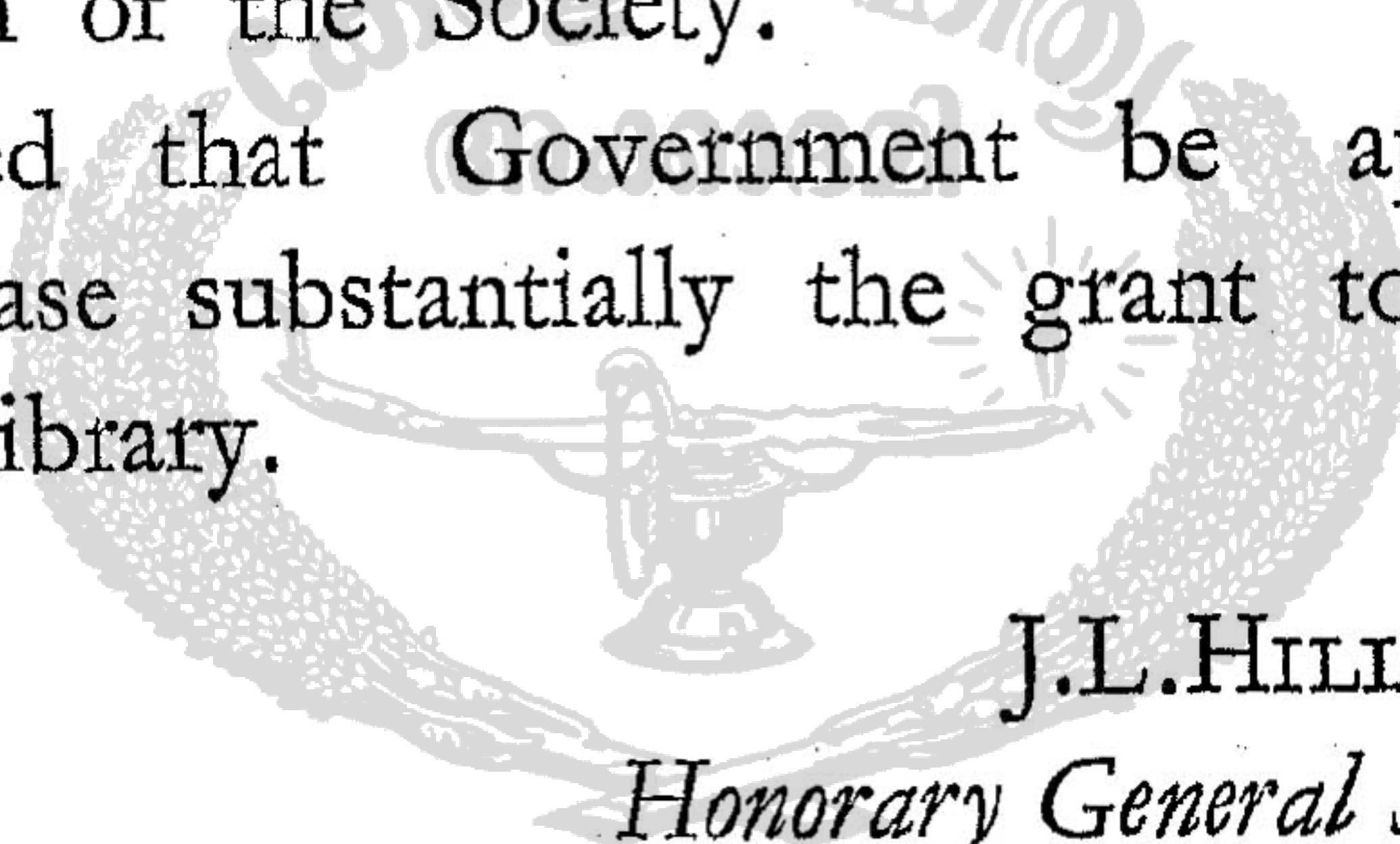
9. Read a letter, dated August 29, 1936, from the Editor, Indiana, Benares.

Resolved that the Council regret that it cannot comply with the Editor's request to send him copies of the Society's publications.

10. Elected Pandit Dilli Ramanj Regmi M.A. Student, Khatmandu, Nepal, and Mr. M. N. Pal, B.A., B.L., Advocate High Court, Patna, members of the Society.



11. Read a letter, dated 27-8-36, from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Kern Institute, Leiden.  
Resolved that Dr. Goethe be invited to lecture at Patna under the auspices of the Society on "Eastern Elements in European Paintings of the 15th-17th centuries."
12. Fixed the price of the Society's edition of Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Report at Rs. 12.  
Resolved that Government be requested to purchase 50 copies of the Report.
13. Resolved to reprint Vol. X, part 4, of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal and to reprint 500 extra copies of the Rājanîti-Ratnākara of Chandeśvara.
14. Appointed Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri Honorary Librarian of the Society.
15. Resolved that Government be approached to increase substantially the grant to the Society's Library.



J.L.HILL

*Honorary General Secretary*

28-9-1936



# JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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[ PART IV

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## Leading Articles

### THE CULT OF TĀRĀ AND AN IMAGE FROM PARBATI

By P. C. CHAUDHURI, M.A., I.C.S.

In the Pantheon of the Vajrayāna Buddhists Tārā occupied an important place. It is difficult to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, as to when the worship of this deity first arose. It is generally believed that the introduction of the goddess into Buddhism took place some time about the 6th century A. D. when Tantrik ideas began to invade the religion of Buddha.<sup>1</sup> The seeds of the Tantrik cult itself can be traced to the earlier Buddhism where Mudrās, Mantras, Maṇḍalas, Dharanīs, Yoga and Samādhi were regarded as a means to attain happiness

<sup>1</sup> L. A. Waddell: *The Indian Buddhistic cult of Avalokita and his consort Tara*, J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 51.



and prosperity in the world.<sup>1</sup> There is an unmistakable affinity between Tantrism on one side and the system of Yoga on the other. Tantrism has been called a popularised and, at the same time, degraded form of Yoga.<sup>2</sup> According to Tāranatha, Tantrik doctrines were transmitted in an occult manner in the period between Āsaṅga and Dharmakīrti. During the reign of the Pāla kings Tantrism received royal patronage and found a stronghold in the renowned monastery of Vikramaśilā<sup>3</sup> where the superiors were all Mantra-Vajrācāryas. The Buddhist belief is that the great master of Yogācāra, Ārya Āsaṅga,<sup>4</sup> went up to heaven and brought down the Tantras.

As the Tantrik school developed Tārā began to acquire popularity though she had already appeared in the Buddhist Pantheon in the form of a Bodhisattva. Yuan Chwang in the 7th century A. D. saw a

<sup>1</sup> Bhattacharyya: *Two Vajrayāna Works*, p. 10, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIV.

<sup>2</sup> Kern: *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Grundriss der Indoarischen, Philologie und Alterthumskunde, III, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Schiefner: *Taranath's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, pp. 206, 257. The Pāla kings reigned over Gauda and Magadha from about 750 A. D., when Gopāla I ascended the throne. See R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 47. The site of the Vikramaśilā monastery has not yet been definitely identified. It was situated somewhere in Magadha on the northern bank of the Ganges. Cunningham, however, thought that it was probably situated at the modern village of Silao in the Patna district. *Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Āsaṅga and his younger brother Vasubandhu, who had originally come to Magadha from Gāndhāra, rank high in Buddhist scholastic philosophy of the 6th century A. D. The approximate date of Āsaṅga is supposed to be 485 to 560 A. D. Max Müller: *India What Can It Teach Us*, pp. 302-312. Āsaṅga is reputed to be the author of Yogācāryabhūmi-Śāstra.



bronze image of Tārā Bodhisattva in a temple of its own at the Ti-lo-shi-ka monastery<sup>1</sup> which was located at the site now occupied by village Telharha in the Patna district where in 1930 I found the remains of several stūpas and other Buddhistic relics.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese pilgrim found another temple of Tārā in Nalanda itself and noted that her image was a popular object of worship. This figure of Tārā was of great height and its spiritual appearance very striking. Large offerings were made to it. Kings and ministers and the great people of the neighbouring countries offered exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resounded in turn, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. The worship of Tārā, on such occasions, went on for several days.<sup>3</sup>

Tārā was thus originally recognised simply as a Bodhisattva (P'usa) without any indication of sex. It could not, however, have taken a long time for Tārā's transformation into a distinct female divinity for as the consort of Avalokiteśvara she was naturally entitled to a prominent place. Avalokiteśvara was one of the earlier mythological beings to be introduced into Buddhism: in the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, which was translated into Chinese in A. D. 265, he is regarded as one of the greatest Bodhisattvas.<sup>4</sup> Fa-

<sup>1</sup> Watters: *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> See Cunningham: *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VII, p. 34 and Vol. XI, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 174; also see Watters, *Ibid*, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> E. Burnouf: *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, 222.



Hien found the Mahāyānists in Mathura presenting offerings to Avalokiteśvara.<sup>1</sup> The large number of statues of this deity found in Kapiśa, in Udayana, in Kashmir, at Kanauj, at Gaya and in Mahārāṣṭra, indicates that two centuries after the visit of Fa-Hien Avalokiteśvara was venerated all over India.<sup>2</sup> As the Śakti or female energy of this Bodhisattva, Tārā was destined to figure prominently. Like Avalokiteśvara she became especially distinguished by her efforts for the salvation of men.<sup>3</sup>

By the time of the later Tantras,<sup>4</sup> Tārā had come to be regarded as one of the chief divinities, unequalled in conferring boons or success—"Naiva Tārāsamā Kāciddevatā siddhidāyini": in Brahmanical mythology, according to Dr. Hiranand Shastri, Tārā became known as the second Mahāvidyā, Kālī being considered the Ādyā, the First.<sup>5</sup> It is unnecessary to quote from the well-known Tantrik texts the innumerable references to this goddess who excelled even Kālī herself. The search for Maithilī manuscripts, undertaken by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, has revealed a considerable store of Tantrik literature. In the *Trailokyavijaya-Kavaca* of the *Gandharva Tantra* Tārā's position is the same as that of Kālī herself.

<sup>1</sup> Legge: *Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Kern: *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Wassijew: *Der Buddhismus*, 125.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest Tantra literature as now available does not seem to be much older than the 6th century A. D.

<sup>5</sup> Hiranand Shastri: *The Origin and Cult of Tara*, Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 20, pp. 1, 8.



यथा काली तथा तारा या तारा सैव कालिका  
उभयोर्न हि भेदोस्ति कवचस्यास्य धारणे ।<sup>1</sup>

Tārā's Dhyāna is given in another Maithilī manuscript as follows :—

ध्यायेत्कोटिदिवाकरद्युतिनिभां बालेन्दुयुक्शेखराम्  
रक्ताङ्गीं रसनां सुरक्तवसनां पूर्णेन्दुविम्बाननाम् ।  
पाशङ्कर्तृमहाङ्कशासिदधतीं दोर्भिश्चतुर्भिर्युतां  
नानाभूषणभूषितां भगवतीं तारां जगत्तारिणीम् ॥<sup>2</sup>

As a distinct Goddess, having various forms, Tārā was universally worshipped in Tibet. As the chief and most active supernatural female Bodhisattva Tārā is now the most popular deity in that country both with the Lamas and laity. In fact she is even more popular than Avalokiteśvara himself. A large proportion of the Tibetan people can repeat her services by heart. The Manual of Tārā Worship, is one of the commonest booklets in Tibet and is in the hands of nearly all laymen.<sup>3</sup>

A bronze statue of Tārā, along with several of Avalokiteśvara, has been discovered at Pegu in Burma. The introduction of Mahāyāna into Upper and Central Burma occurred most probably in the 4th or 5th century A. D. Mons. Duroiselle has found archæological evidence of the existence at Min-nanthu near Pegu of a Buddhist sect, the Ari, who were apparently, Mahāyānist Tantriks and regarded Tārā

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Pandit Vishnu Lal Shastri of the B. & O. Research Society for this reference. The passage is quoted in *Tārābhakti-sudhārṇava* of Narasimha Thākur; See Maithilī Ms. Cat. No. 159 and Cat. No. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārā-karpūrastotra* of Bhairava Tantra, Maithilī Ms. Cat. No. 140A.

<sup>3</sup> Waddell: *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 358.



as a Śakti of Buddha. Mons. Duroiselle mentions that whereas the Buddha of the frescoes of Min-nanthu, which belong to the early part of the 12th century A. D., had Indian features, Tārā as his Śakti looked like a Burmese woman standing in a rather voluptuous attitude.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stutterheim describes an image found at Sawah Gunung in Bali as probably representing Tārā.<sup>2</sup> Tārā's images have been found in Java: for instance in Chandi Mendut, the Buddhist edifice of the 6th to 8th century A. D.<sup>3</sup>

In Nepal the Mahāyāna developments and eventually the Tantrik practices were accepted as a part of religion at an early period. Numerous forms of Tārā, a term indiscriminately applied to all the consorts of the Dhyāni Buddhas, are found in the Nepal valley.<sup>4</sup> The Śyāmā Tārā appears to have been particularly popular in this country. The worship of Tārā had become widely prevalent in Orissa even in the early medieval times as indicated by her numerous images discovered in Nathgiri, Ratnagiri, Kendrapara, Chandaury and other parts of the province.<sup>5</sup> Tārā is known among the Jains but she does not hold a prominent place in their mythology. She is not even a Śāśanādevī or Yakṣiṇī to any of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras<sup>6</sup>, though some of her names are more or less identical

<sup>1</sup> *Burmese Report of Arch. Survey of India*, 1915-16, p. 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> W. F. Stutterheim: *Indian influences in old Balinese Art*, Plate V.

<sup>3</sup> Foucher: *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Landon: *Nepal*, Vol. II, App. XV, *Notes on Buddhism in Nepal*.

<sup>5</sup> Rama Prasad Chanda: *'Exploration in Orissa'*, *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, 1881, p. 273.



with those of the Yakṣiṇīs, assigned to several Tīrthaṅkaras in the Tantrik Jain cult which bears some analogy to Buddhist Tantrism.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to state precisely when Tārā was first represented in sculpture. Dr. Hiranand Shastri thinks that there are no Tārā figures which may be positively ascribed to a period preceding the 6th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Mr. S. N. Mazoomdar Shastri discovered in 1923 an image of Tārā at Hilsa in the district of Patna; it bears an inscription of the 35th regnal year of Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla and grandson of Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla dynasty.<sup>3</sup> Devapāladeva is believed to have reigned from about 871 A. D.<sup>4</sup> This however does not appear to be the earliest image of Tārā. Several images bearing inscriptions in letters of the same type as those used in the Neulpur Copper Plate grant of the Buddhist King, Subhākaradeva, who reigned in northern Tosali in the second half of the 8th century A. D., have been found in Orissa.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Bernet Kempers has found images of this deity in the bronzes of Nalanda.<sup>6</sup> Though the identification of some of these images, in my opinion, is dubious a few are certainly representa-

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed list of Jain Yakṣiṇīs, see Burgess's *Tantrasāra*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Origin and Cult of Tārā*, Memoirs of Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XX, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. O. R. S. Vol. X, 1924, p. 31 f. 'Hilsa statue inscription of the 35th year of Devapāla.'

<sup>4</sup> R. D. Banerji: *The pālas of Bengal*, Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> R. D. Banerji: *Neulpur grant of Subhākara*, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 1-6; Sylvain Lévi: 'King Subhākara of Orissa,' *Ibid*, pp. 363-364.

<sup>6</sup> A. J. Bernet Kempers: *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art*, p. 40 etc.



tions of Tārā with the characteristic Utpala stalk in the left hand and the right hand in Varadā Mudrā.<sup>1</sup> Waddell speaks of numerous inscribed images of Tārā dating from the 8th to the 12th century A. D. at old Buddhistic sites throughout India and particularly in Magadha.<sup>2</sup> Fergusson and Burgess were under the impression that some of the female figures in the Buddhistic cave temples at Nasik, Ajanta, Elura, and Aurangabad were of Tārā.<sup>3</sup> I do not however think that the identity has been clearly established. The female deities in these caves have been somewhat loosely described as 'Tārā, Lochanā, Māmuki etc.' The mere presence of a lotus stalk or flower-bud or of a Padmāsana is not a sufficient criterion for identification of a particular deity. The classification of Tārā is a matter of an elaborately detailed study; this is particularly so in the case of representations in stone for the more common classification of the different varieties of this Goddess is in accordance with colour, such as green Tārā, white Tārā, yellow Tārā etc. and this is not applicable to ordinary sculptural work. The danger of not observing images with a critical eye for the minutest details is illustrated by the remark of the late Vincent A. Smith that the image of Buddhistic Tārā is not easily distinguishable from the Hindu Lakṣmī.<sup>4</sup> Though our knowledge of the

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, cf. Plate XIII, representing Śyāmā Tārā.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Fergusson and Burgess: *The Cave Temples of India*, pp. 278, 298, 371, 384 and 391.

<sup>4</sup> V. A. Smith: *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 184.



earlier sculptured representations of Tārā is limited, it may be safely surmised that with the growing popularity of her cult her images must have also become numerous from about the 7th century A. D. This popularity might well have been due in a large measure to the remarkable renaissance in Indian sculpture at this period. The more sensuous taste of a sceptical age turned from the austere representations of the earliest Buddhist art and sculptors eagerly welcomed the opportunity of emphasizing the graceful and lovable side of the Buddhistic and Brahmanical Pantheon by putting into plastic form this new goddess who was so endowed with attributes to make her a general favourite. The severe dignity of a Bodhisattva however still stuck to her and Tārā developed, as it were, a dual personality; side by side with her beloved aspect of a benign and smiling Goddess, which evoked ideas of mother-love and contributed to her immense popularity, she retained her fearful (Ugra) and irritated (Sakrodha) forms. Just as the work of Praxiteles and other sculptors of the new Attic school in the 4th century transformed a severely dignified Aphrodite, who had so far inspired feelings of religious awe only, into a Goddess of love, in all the bright beauty and sensuous charm of her undraped figure,<sup>1</sup> the chisel of the Indian sculptor of the 7th century gradually carved out a permanent place for the more graceful Tārā not only in stone but in the hearts of all men.

<sup>1</sup> Collignon: *Manual of Mythology in Relation to Greek Art*, p. 136 etc.



The fragmentary image of Tārā as described here was recovered from Parbati, in the extreme north-east corner of the district of Gaya, through the good offices of Mr. L. J. Lucas, I. C. S., and is now deposited in the Patna Museum. The fragment was found lying at the foot of the hill which rises in solitary grandeur on the eastern side of a once mighty river, the Sakri. The Parbati hill is of considerable archæological importance. General Cunningham had with some hesitation identified it as the site of the Buddhist Kapotaka or Pigeon monastery visited by Hiuen Tsang.<sup>1</sup> In my opinion the hill really represents the site of the famous Indra-sāla-guhā, where Indra propounded 42 different questions to Buddha and which was identified by Cunningham<sup>2</sup> with the hill at Giriak and by Broadley<sup>3</sup> with the isolated rock at Bihar. The present fragment, however, does not appear to be connected with any of the archæological remains on the Parbati hill. The image had evidently been brought over from village Aphasar, which is situated about 3 miles to the south-east of Parbati. Aphasar is singularly rich in Buddhistic and Brahmanical relics and there can be little doubt that the image of Tārā originally came from the immense collection of Vajrayāna sculptures even now found scattered all over the village.

Unfortunately the image, as recovered, is in a

<sup>1</sup> Grierson : *Notes on the District of Gaya*, p. 34. Also see Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 473 f.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. R. for 1862-65, Vol. I, p. 18 and Vol. III, p. 145. Fergusson challenged this identification : J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. B., 1872, Vol. XLI, p. 284 etc.





A Tārā Image from Pārbatī.



mutilated condition. Sufficient however has outlived the ravages of time and the destructive fury of man to leave for us an exquisite instance of the highly developed iconoplastic art of about the 10th century A. D. As it now stands the fragment is 21 inches in height and 14 inches wide in the middle. The material used appears to be the "Patharkatti" black-stone which was available in abundance in the natural quarries of the hills in the northern part of the Gaya district.<sup>1</sup> This stone was very commonly used for sculptural work in the time of the Pāla kings.<sup>2</sup> It had a fine grain and provided an excellent ground for the minute carving of details, for instance, the delicate folds of the drapery, the intricate formation of plaits of hair, or the elaborate ornamentation of the necklace (Hāra) or the head-gear (Mauli).

The image is manifestly of the Śānta or Saumya type. Tārā appears as a lovable deity with the head slightly inclined to the right and the face pleasant and smiling. This pose is called the Tribhaṅga. It is the favourite attitude of the standing image of Tārā.<sup>3</sup> The perfection of repose is indeed most striking. The tilt of the head balances in a remarkable manner

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Francis Buchanan: Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812, Ed. V. H. Jackson, p. 24 and Appendix No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> I have found this stone used for sculptural work in numerous ancient sites of Bihar. See P. C. Chaudhuri, *Ajapura of Skandagupta and the area around*, J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIX, p. 337-43.

<sup>3</sup> See for instance, Plate V representing a Tārā image from Ratnagiri (Orissa), Memoirs of Arch. Survey of India, No. 44 and Patna Museum Collection No. 1578, a Tārā image from Bihar, and No. 3745, another image from Cuttack.



the upward rise of the left shoulder and the sway of the hips towards the right. The relation of the lines of the neck, the shoulders, the left arm and the waist indicates a keen appreciation on the part of the sculptor of the subtleties of balance.

The left arm of the figure holds the Utpala by its stem. The symbolism of the lotus in Indian art is a matter of considerable importance. As Havell has appropriately put it :—"The lotus symbol like all other Indian symbols, had a metaphysical, or subjective, as well as an objective significance. Rooted deep in the mud of a lake or river and pushing its way gradually upwards through the water until its fair flower blossomed in the light of heaven, the lotus or water-lily was Nature's own symbol of the spiritual process by which the human mind won liberation in Nirvāṇa."<sup>1</sup> According to the Buddhist classification of Tārās, there are seven main variations in all of which the deity carries the Utpala in the left hand and exhibits the Varadā Mudrā with the right.<sup>2</sup> In Brahmanical iconography there is no hard and fast rule in this respect : while Pārvatī is depicted in the Viṣṇeśvarānugramūrti of Śiva as holding the Utpala flower in her right hand and Śiva himself in his Jñāna-dakṣiṇāmūrti does the same, Pārvatī in another aspect of Śiva, Vṛśavāhanamūrti, carries the flower in her left hand : in the Yajñavarāhamūrti of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī holds the lotus in her left hand while Bhūmidevī

<sup>1</sup> Havell: *The Himalayas in Indian Art*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharya : *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 135.



carries the flower in her right hand.<sup>1</sup> The stem of the lotus is held in a most delicate, though conventional, manner. The slender stalk passes through the thumb and index finger and is pressed down by the ring finger. This was apparently a gesture which had become stereotyped as in several other images of Tārā the Utpala is held exactly in this manner.<sup>2</sup>

The right arm of the image is broken at the elbow joint. The position of the upper arm and particularly the complete ornament above the elbow clearly indicates that the forearm must have extended downwards in the pose known as the Varadā Mudrā, in which the palm is exposed as if granting a boon. The Indian Museum has a complete image of Tārā, in the standing attitude, which has a pose remarkably similar to that of our fragment. There is the same incline from the waist towards the right the equilibrium being gradually recovered by the tilt of the head towards the left.<sup>3</sup>

This description will not be complete without mention of the five Dhyānī Buddhas at the top of the image. The Mahayānists regarded the Dhyānī Buddhas as a peculiar sort of Buddhas who are eternal and

<sup>1</sup> T. A. Gopinath Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pp. 99 etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Plate No. IIIa: *Memoirs of Arch. Survey of India*, No. 20, depicting the Tārā Image in the Lucknow Museum. Plate XXXII/i, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 104, illustrating another specimen from the Dacca Museum. Several images of female deities in the Kurkihar collection in the Patna Museum display a similar pose.

<sup>3</sup> See Plate XXXII c, reproduced in Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 104.



have never been Bodhisattvas; they are called Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, while their female counterparts are Tārās or Śaktis, namely Vajradhattiśvarā, Locanā, Māmuki, Pāṇḍurā and Tārā.<sup>1</sup> The Dhyānī Buddhas are always engaged in peaceful meditation and voluntarily restrain themselves from the act of creation. According to Bhattacharyya, though some of them were known before A. D. 700 the idea of the full number of five such Buddhas developed in the first half of the 8th century during the time of Indrabhūti, the king of Addiyini.<sup>2</sup> The Dhyānī Buddhas are marked by the different positions of their hands in the form of different Mudrās. They are also distinguished by their various colours. The five deities of the image, from left to right, exhibit the following Mudrās and are:—

(i) Vairocana in Dharmachakra-mudrā : the two hands are held against the breast with the tips of the fingers united;

(ii) Akṣobhya in Bhūmisparśa-mudrā : the left hand rests on the lap while the right rests upon the right knee with the tips of the fingers as if touching the ground with the palm downwards;

(iii) Amoghasiddhi in Abhaya-mudrā : the left hand lies open on his lap and the right is lifted up with the palm outwards in the attitude of assurance;

(iv) Ratnasambhava in Varadā-mudrā : the left hand rests upon the lap while the right stretches

<sup>1</sup> Kern: *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharyya: *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 1.



downwards with the palm outwards;

(v) Amitābha in Samādhi or Dhyāna-mudrā : the two hands with the palms open lie on the lap one upon the other.





## TWO PROTO-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHĀÑHU DARO

By THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

Chāñhu Daro is the name given to three mounds that rise a little to the south of the village Jamal Kiriyo on the east side of the Indus. The mounds are practically between Nawābshāh and Sākand in the Nawābshāh District. The mounds were explored in February 1928 by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., an officer of the Archæological Survey of India, who soon realized that the remains lying under them belong to the same cultural period as Mohenjo Daro and Harappa<sup>1</sup>.

During the last season (October 1935-March 1936) an expedition sent by the *American Society of Indic and Iranian Studies*, the President of which is Prof. W. Norman Brown, worked at the mounds of Chāñhu Daro. At the head of the expedition was Mr. Ernest Mackay, the last Superintendent of the Mohenjo Daro excavations. This was to our knowledge the first time that a foreign Society conducted excavations in India.

We do not know anything definite about the result of this work. Mr. Mackay returned home without communicating any piece of news to his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind* (*Memoirs of the A. S. of I.*, No. 48), pp. 35-38.



friends, undoubtedly because he wanted to give an account of the excavation season to the Society that entrusted him with this responsible task; and the Archæological Department keeps, as usual, a sacred silence about the finds at Chāñhu Daro.

Yet, Mr. Majumdar while digging a few trial trenches at Chāñhu Daro discovered three steatite seals of the Mohenjo Daro-Harappa type, the inscriptions on which give some interesting details which I am going to explain in this paper.

As said above these seals are of the Mohenjo Daro-Harappa square type. Yet there is a striking difference between them and the majority of those found at the other two sites. The latter bear the figure of an animal—very likely the *totem*-like symbol of the tribe—or another scene, and the inscription is carved on the upper portion only. At Mohenjo Daro there are but a few seals which have no other carving than the signs of the inscription<sup>1</sup>. Yet all the three seals unearthed at Chāñhu Daro by Mr. Majumdar bear no figure of animal or any other scene at all.

On one of them a tree only is represented. "Pl. XVII, 44 (for 34) probably depicts the *Pipal* tree (*ficus religiosa*)," says Majumdar himself, "but no other example of this type of seal from Mohenjo Daro or Harappa is so far known, although representations of the tree itself are fairly common."<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, Pl. CII, n.; Pl. CXII, Nos. 396 and 400.

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 38.



other two seals bear inscriptions only and are going to be the subject of our study<sup>1</sup>.

# I

We take first the seal marked No. 38 on Pl. XVII of Mr. Majumdar's monograph. The inscription runs as follows :



The inscription has ten signs, plus an additional sign, distributed in the following way :

- |          |     |                                |
|----------|-----|--------------------------------|
| 1st line | ... | 5 signs                        |
| 2nd line | ... | 2 signs plus 1 additional sign |
| 3rd line | ... | 1 sign                         |
| 4th line | ... | 2 signs                        |


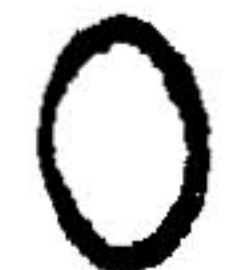
There is much space left free under the first line to the left of the seal.

The script of this pre-Aryan civilization is *boustrophedon*, i.e., with alternate lines running con-

<sup>1</sup> At the time of publishing this paper all the inscriptions hitherto recovered either from Mohenjo Daro or from Harappa, plus a few from other sites and from Mesopotamia, are already deciphered by the present writer. In all, they are about two thousand. I am actually preparing the publication of all these interesting documents. About the foundation of my interpretation, cf. Heras, *Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, *The New Review*, III, pp. 1-16.






trary ways as in ploughing. Consequently the first line reads from right to left; the second from left to right; the third from right to left again, etc.

Sign No. 1 (first line, from right) is a compound sign. Its elements are  *mūn*, three and *ūr*, 

“city,” or “country round the city.” Therefore the sign reads *mūnūr*, which is evidently the name of a city, the pre-Aryan rendering of the name Tripura, though at present we cannot identify the place.

Sign No. 2 represents a man holding a bow. He is a Bilava, a member of the pre-Aryan tribe of the Bilavas, represented today by the Bhils and other North Indian tribes.

Sign No. 3 originally reads *ēl*, “the sun,” but the lines placed inside give us a figure, viz., the number of houses (or months) through which the sun passes. The sign  would be *two* houses; 

would be four and the sign  , which is in the inscription, reads six<sup>1</sup>. Therefore it will read *ārēl*, “six suns,” i.e., six houses of the sun.

Sign No. 4 is *mūn*, “three.”

Sign No. 5 is a very complex sign. It evidently represents the leaf of a tree. Yet the two small appendices cannot be easily explained. A comparison

<sup>1</sup> These pre-Aryan people knew the Zodiac, but they had 8 constellations only in it. Hence the year was divided into eight months of 45 days each. Six houses of the sun would, therefore, perhaps mean three full seasons, or at least three quarters of the year.



of all similar signs in the inscriptions shows that these two appendices in this and in other cases are extremely conventionalized. But some of these signs clearly show that they are two leaves joined together, the one that is behind being turned upside down in this guise :



Therefore the two appendices are the two lower lobes of the leaf protruding from behind the upper lines of the front one. They are two joint leaves. Now, *leaf* in Dravidian languages is *ila*, while *kalak* means “to unite,” “to join.” Therefore the sign reads *kalakila* and refers to a tribe which later on, in the historic Āryan period, was styled Kilakilās<sup>1</sup>.

Additional sign (second line from left): denotes the participle of the substantive verb, *ire*, properly “being” or “who is” or “who are” (In Dravidian languages there is no personal pronoun).

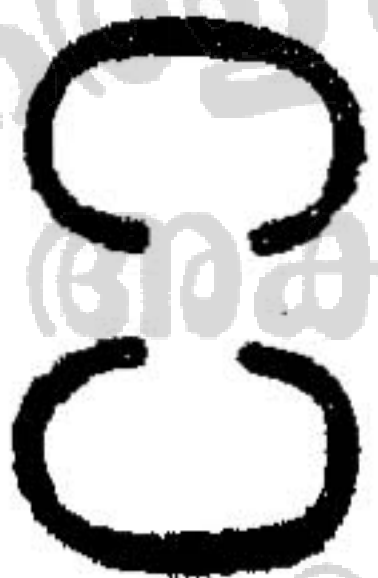
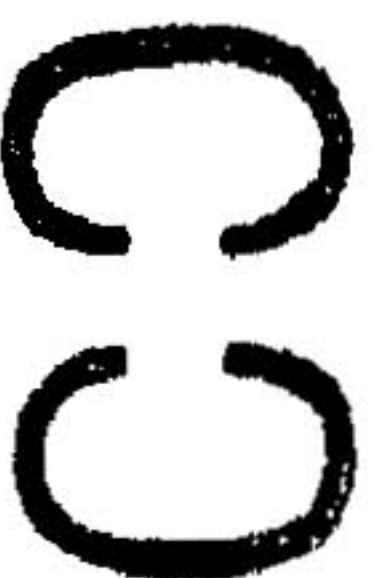
Sign No. 6 also is a compound sign belonging to the family of ) .<sup>2</sup> This sign in Proto-Chinese means “a quarter,” an idea which in Dravidian languages is expressed by the word *kāl*. Another sign ( is only the opposite of the preceding sign. Hence, if the former is *kāl*, the latter will be *lak*,

<sup>1</sup> *Matsya Purāna*, cf. Pargiter, *The Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 38, suggests that this sign represents a shield.



which means "to rise." The union of these two signs, either  $\text{X}$  or  $\text{X}$  or  $\text{)(}$  will naturally read *kalak*, which means, "union," "mixture," "junction," etc. This is precisely the central portion of our sign: therefore the central phonetic value of it will be *kalak*. Now in front and behind this sign there should be such phonetic complementary values, that would make the whole reading perfectly uniform, as uniform as the sign itself, viz., that read from either side, it would give the same reading. On the other hand there is also some similarity between the two sections of this sign  $\text{)(}$  and the two sections of the

complementary sign . The curvature of the end in the latter is more pronounced and the relative direction is inverted. This shows that, according to the general system of this script, there must be some similarity between the phonetic value of each section of  $\text{)(}$  and those of . Now the phonetic

value of the former is *kāl*, where the main sound is *al*.<sup>1</sup> This sound therefore should remain for each section

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gnana Prakasar, *Root-words of the Dravidian Group of Languages*, *Anthropos*, XXX, p. 141; Gnana Prakasar, *The Law of Initial Intensive Consonants*, p. 4 (Reprint from J. C. G.).



of the latter. Moreover, since we have suppressed the *k* on account of the slight difference in shape and in direction existing between them, so on account of the same reason we must add a new sound to *al* in order to arrive at the right phonetic value of the latter. I suggest that we should suffix *u* in one case at the beginning of the whole sign, and at the end the two vowels should be interchanged, the full reading ending by *ula*. Thus the whole sign will read : *alukalakula*.

Now *alu* is found in different Dravidian languages thus :

*alu* ... Ta.

*alai* ... Ta.

*ala* ... Ka.

*ale* ... Te.

The meaning of these words are "to tremble," "to be troubled," "to be shaken."

*Ula* does not seem to exist in the Dravidian languages, yet in Tulu there exists the word *pula* (Ta. *pulam*; Ka. *hola*, *pola*; Ma. *pula*) that means "pasturage," "grazing ground." Now the original *p* of the Tulu and Kannada words very often drops, for instance,

*pū* = *ū*, "flower"

*pattu* = (*h*) *attu*<sup>1</sup> "ten"

*pugi* = *ugi*, "to bury"

*paṇa* = (*h*) *aṇa*, "a small coin"

*pacce* = *acce*, "green"

*pari* = *ari*, "to flow"

<sup>1</sup> The aspiration that substitutes the *p* in Kannada seems to be totally foreign to the Dravidian languages. Its use, therefore, is equivalent to dropping the initial consonant altogether.



*polal* = *olal* "a city, a town, or country  
in general"

*peccu* = *eccu* "to increase"

*pettu* = *ettu* "blow"

*pāle* = *āle* "the lobe of the ear"

*pidisu* = *idisu* "to cause, to seize."

This is a clear argument to prove that this consonant did not form part of the original root.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the case with our word *ula*. Therefore, *alukalakula* means "grazing ground of the troubled union."

Sign No. 7 found in many inscriptions reads *arup*, "harvest" or "crop."

Sign No. 8 (third line under No. 7) is the pictograph of a flower, and therefore reads, *alar*.

Sign No. 9 (fourth line from right) reads *ūr*, "country." The little sign *v*, added in the interior above, is a grammatical determinative, one of the few grammatical determinatives that appear in this very early stage in the language. It is the determinative of locative case. Therefore the whole sign would read *ūril*, "in the country."

Sign No. 10 is the same as sign No. 2 : *Bilava*.

Thus the whole inscription reads as follows :

*Mūnūr Bilava ārēl mūn Kalakila ire*  
*alukalakula arup alar ūril Bilava.*

That means :

"The Mūnūr Bilava is the Bilava in the country that has the flower of the crop of the grazing ground of the troubled union that was (caused by) the three Kalakilas in six months."

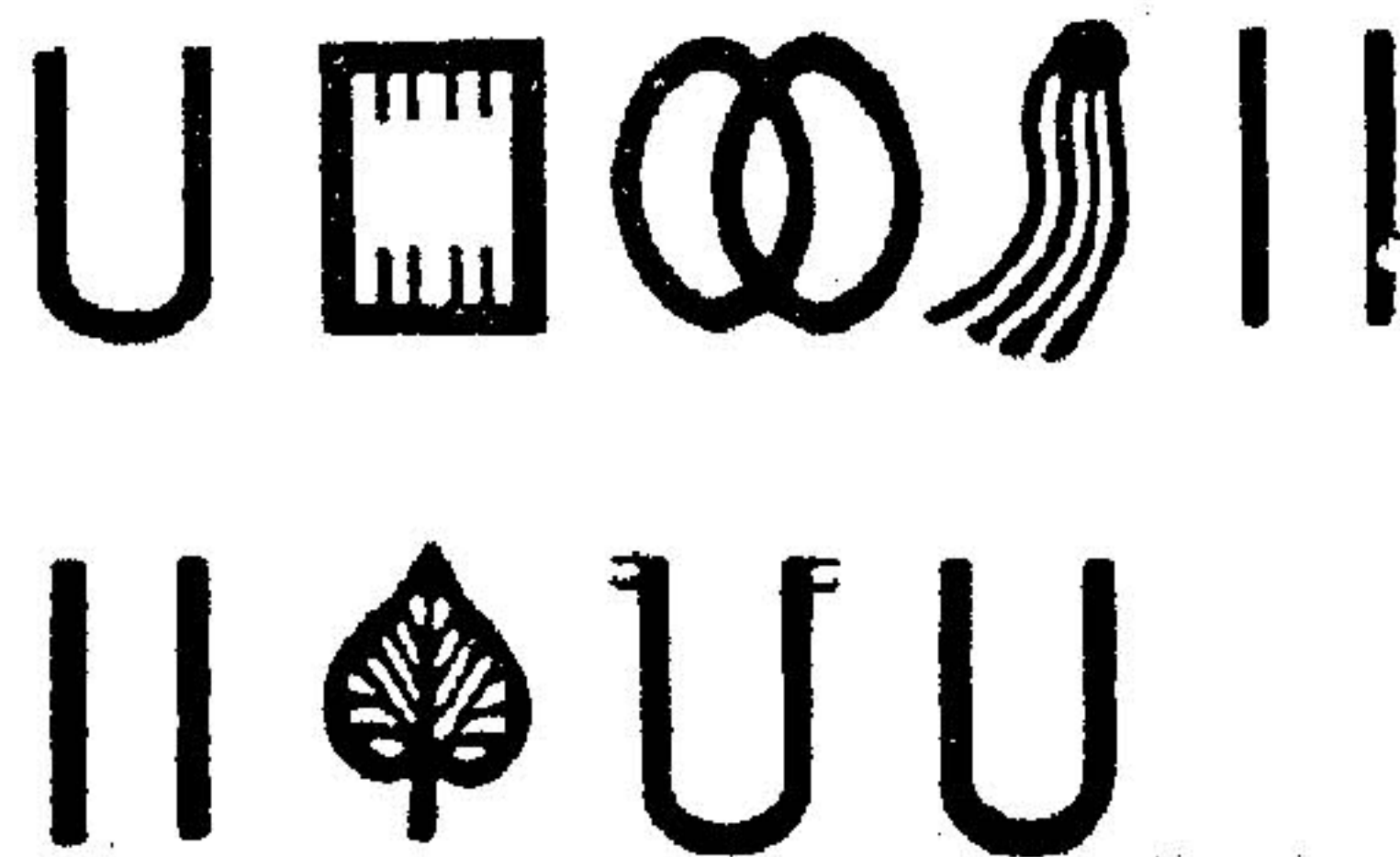
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gnana Prakasar, *The Law of the Initial Intensive Consonants*, loc. cit., p. 4.



The inscription therefore shows that there was at Mūnūr a famous Bilava, perhaps a chief of the Bilavas. From an inscription of Mohenjo Daro we conclude that Mūnūr was a city of Bilavas. The inscription reads : *Mūnūr Bilava ain vėl*, i.e. : "The five tridents of the Bilavas of Mūnūr"<sup>1</sup>. This seems to confirm our present supposition that the Bilava so prominently mentioned in this inscription, was the chief of Mūnūr. In Mūnūr there were common grazing grounds<sup>2</sup>. Its crops were then in blossom. Yet this union of the country community<sup>3</sup> was in a troubled state caused by three Kalakilas. This misunderstanding lasted six months, i.e. three quarters of a year. Perhaps the Bilava mentioned above restored peace to the community, and that could be an explanation why his name is found in this inscription connected with this social trouble.

## II

The other seal is a little smaller and its inscription has two lines only, with five signs in the first line and four in the second. It runs thus :



<sup>1</sup> Photo, M. D., 1928-29, No. 3791.

<sup>2</sup> Common grounds are also recorded in other inscriptions. Cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Pl. CX, No. 311.

<sup>3</sup> The existence of such village communities is also evident from Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. CVI, No. 72; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, 8139.



Sign No. 1 (first line from right) : *īr*, "two."

Sign No. 2 is already known from the previous inscription : *arup*, "harvest."

Sign No. 3 represents some countries which are politically united, a thing which was very common in those ancient days. Sometimes there are two, sometimes three.<sup>1</sup> Some seals show an animal with three different heads, a bull, a unicorn and an ibex which seems to represent the symbol of one of such unions.<sup>2</sup> It reads *kalakūr*, "united countries."

Sign No. 4 belongs to a well-known family of signs. Let us take two of them :



By adding a stroke to *ug*, the phonetic value of the new sign has become *dug*. Similarly if we add one more stroke to *dug* sign (as in the sign under study), we shall obtain its phonetic value, by adding another sound to *dug*. I suggest that we should add *o*, thus becoming *odug*. Now this word is found only in two languages :

<i>oduku</i>	Ta.
<i>adu</i>	Tu.

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, No. 99; Pl. CVIII, No. 146; Pl. CIX, No. 205, 215, 230, 257, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XIII, No. 24; III, Pl. CXII, No. 382. Cf. Photo, 1930-1, 12688.



A middle sound between these two forms would be *odug*, which is precisely the value suggested above. Now the meaning of these words are : “to keep close to,” “to follow,” “to pursue,” “to accrue to,” “to obtain,” “to turn the water to a field.”

Since the inscription speaks of a harvest, this latter meaning very likely will be the best.

Sign No. 5 reads *ru*, an onomatopoeic word meaning “noise.” If repeated twice or thrice may mean “thunder” (rumbling)<sup>1</sup>.

Sign No. 6 (second line from left) : *īr*, “two.”

Sign No. 7 represents a leaf of the *pipal* tree, and stands for the whole tree which may be read *aramaram*.

Sign No. 8 is the suffix of possession, *adu*.

Sign No. 9 is the same as sign No. 5, though this sign in particular is roughly carved.

Consequently the inscription reads as follows :

*Ir arup kalakūr odug ru*

*Ir aramaram adu ru*

which translated into English means :

“The noise of the water turned (to water) a field of the two united countries that have a harvest (is like) the noise of the two *pipal* trees.”

The inscription evidently compares the noise of the water passing through the canals on the fields with the noise of the leaves of the *pipal* tree when they are agitated by the breeze.

This inscription seems to be a couplet of a popular song. In Dravidian languages rhyme is

<sup>1</sup> Heras, *Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.



found in the beginning of the verse in the second syllable and in popular songs also at the end, as in the present case.<sup>1</sup>

### III

These two inscriptions are specimens of the variety of subjects contained in the inscriptions of the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa period. The former of these two inscriptions gives us an insight into the social and economic life of those days; while the latter is a popular couplet sung very likely by those early people.

Among the signs of these inscriptions there is only one which has not been found in the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. This sign is



which nevertheless supposes the sign )(

very often found in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions.

Two other signs are a little different from the ordinary signs of the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa vocabulary, as the following table will show:

Chāñhu Daro

Mohenjo Daro-Harappa.



<sup>1</sup> Other inscriptions of that type have been found among the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. Cf. for instance, Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. CXVI, No. 16.



According to some press reports the result of the excavations conducted by the American Society have been very fruitful. It is expected that they will soon be published and the inscriptions found there will increase the amount of information we possess about the Proto-Indian nation and its wonderful civilization.





# GENERAL INDEX TO J.B.O.R.S., VOLUME XXII

## A

	PAGE
Accounts .. .. .	52
Accounts, statement of, from 1st April 35 to 29th Feb. 36	53
Account of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq .. .. .	96, 265
Actuals up to Feb. 29, 1936 INCOME .. .. .	54
"    "    "    "    " EXPENDITURE .. .. .	55
Agastyasamhitā, place of, in Dharma Śāstra Literature .. .. .	111
Agenda .. .. .	43
Anśuvarman, date, era of, .. .. .	161
"    initial year of the era of, .. .. .	164
"    Chronology of the rule of, .. .. .	167
"    Dynastic revolution <sup>1</sup> on his death .. .. .	167, 229
"    Śivadeva I .. .. .	168
"    Constitutional position of .. .. .	176
Anantadeva, Rājadharmakaustubha of, .. .. .	22
Annual General Meeting, Proceedings of, held on March 25th 1936.. .. .	47
Annual Report for 1935-36 .. .. .	50
Appendix A .. .. .	93
Appendix B .. .. .	95
Approach to the Sirat-ī-Fīroz Shāhi .. .. .	13
Architecture, epigraphy, constitution .. .. .	238
"    and Temples of Nepal in 657 A.D. .. .. .	240
Articles, leading.. .. .	1, 59, 161, 293
"    Miscellaneous .. .. .	108, 275
Art, Transformation of Nature in, .. .. .	22
At the Annual Meeting of the Society His Excellency said .. .. .	57
Author of the Era 575 A.D. .. .. .	170



## B

	PAGE
Balance marked coins from Rājgīr and Pāṭaliputra ..	65
Bhava-Nāga, coin of .. .. .	71
Bhīma Nāga, coin of .. .. .	74
Bhoja, Uṇādisūtras of .. .. .	122, 135
Books, reviews and notices of .. .. .	22

## C

Centuries, pre-Christian, on some Hindu coins of ..	59
Chāñhu Daro, Two Proto Indian Inscriptions from ..	308
Chinese account of Nepal 643-651 A.D. .. ..	238
Chinese history of Nepal Coinage .. .. .	226
Chronology and History of Nepal 600 B.C. to 880 A.D.	157
Chronology of the rule of Amśuvarman .. ..	167
Coins, on some Hindu, of Pre-Christian centuries ..	59
"    of Siri, grandson of Bhāga .. .. .	62
"    punch marked copper, of Gomin .. ..	63
"    "    "    "    of Tubāṭhi .. .. .	65
Coin, balance marked, from Rājgīr and Pāṭaliputra ..	65
Coins, New, of Nāga Vākātaka period .. .. .	70
Coins, Lanky Bull Type .. .. .	70
Coins, New, Arbitrate .. .. .	71
Coins, of Bhava Nāga .. .. .	71
Coins of Bhīmanāga .. .. .	74
Coins of Nava, their historical value .. .. .	74
Coins, early Indian, Nava Nāga in .. .. .	77
Coins of Nepal Guptas .. .. .	221
Coinage .. .. .	221
Coinage, Lichchavi .. .. .	223
Coinage, Nepal, Chinese History on .. .. .	226
Commentary, a new, Arthaśāstra, .. .. .	286
Commemoration Volume Section .. .. .	143
Confusion in the Chronological order of Vamśāvalī explained .. .. .	183
Constitutional position of Amśuvarman .. .. .	176
Constitution, Epigraphy and Architecture .. ..	238
Cult of Tārā and an image from Pārbatī .. ..	293



## D

	PAGE
Dantapura and Pāluru in Northern Ganjam ..	1
Data of the Mañjuśrī History of Nepal .. ..	210
Date and era of Amśūvarman .. .. .	161
Date, exact, of Māndeva .. .. .	189
Dharmaśāstra Literature and place of Agastyasamhitā	111
Dholā-Mārūr-ā Dūhā .. .. .	36
Dhruvadeva Lichchavi & Jishṇu Gupta .. ..	169
Discovery of a Yaudheya mint .. .. .	59
Dual sovereignty, origin in Nepal .. .. .	244
Dūhā, Dholā-Mārūr-a .. .. .	36
Dynasties, early, of Nepal .. .. .	160, 257
Dynasty, Gupta, of Nepal .. .. .	217
Dynasty, Nimisha, .. .. .	257
Dynasty, Kirāta, .. .. .	257
Dynastic revolution on Amśuvarman's death ..	167, 229

## E

Early dynasties of Nepal .. .. .	160, 257
Early history of Kauśāmbī .. .. .	116
Epigraphy, Architecture and Constitution ..	238
Epigraphy of Nepal of the 7th & 8th Century ..	243
Epilogue, the .. .. .	18
Era, and date of Amśuvarman .. .. .	161
Era of Amśuvarman, initial year of .. .. .	161
Era 595 A.D., Author of .. .. .	170
Era, Tibetan, in Nepal .. .. .	172
Expenditure .. .. .	55

## F

Firoz Shāh Tughluq, an Account of .. ..	96, 264
Finance, Mauryan Public, .. .. .	30

## G

Ganjam, Northern, Dantapura and Pāluru in ..	1
Gomin, punch marked copper coin of .. ..	63
Guptas, caste of, Nepal chronicles on .. ..	108



	PAGE
Gupta Dynasty in Nepal, identification of the royal names of .. .. .	109
Gupta dynasty of Nepal .. .. .	217
Guptas, Nepal, coins of, .. .. .	221
H	
Hindu coins of pre-Christian Centuries .. .. .	59
History of Nepal 600 B.C. to 880 A.D. .. .. .	157, 161
Historical values of coins of Nava .. .. .	74
Honorary members .. .. .	145
I	
Icons, Mura-devas and Yakṣas .. .. .	22
Identification of the royal names of the Gupta dynasty in Nepal .. .. .	109
Image from Pārbatī & Cult of Tārā .. .. .	293
Income .. .. .	54
Initial year of the Era of Amśuvarman .. .. .	164
Inscription dated 492 N.E. (1371-72 A.D.) at Svayambhūnāth, Kāṭhamāṇḍav .. .. .	93
Inscriptions, two Proto Indian, from Chāñhu Daro .. .. .	308
J	
Jayadeva II, Ṭhakuris after .. .. .	245
Jishṇu Gupta & Mānadeva .. .. .	169
Jishṇu Gupta & Dhruvadeva Lichchavi .. .. .	169
Journal .. .. .	50
Jyautisha, Vedāṅga .. .. .	283
K	
Kailāsakūṭa Palace in 643-657 A.D. .. .. .	239
Kāṭhamāṇḍav, inscription dated 492 N.E. (1371-72 A.D.) at Svayambhūnāth .. .. .	93
Kauśāmbī, early history of .. .. .	116
Kaumudī Mahotsava, Professor Winternitz on the .. .. .	275
King .. .. .	239
Kings, Lichchavi .. .. .	196
Kirāta Dynasty .. .. .	257



## L

	PAGE
Lanky Bull type coins .. .. .	70
Lead coins of Srāvastī .. .. .	69
Leading articles .. .. .	1,59,161,293
Library .. .. .	51
Lichchavis & Ṭhakuris (350-880 A.D.) .. .. .	159,161
Lichchavi, Dhruvadeva & Jishṇu Gupta .. .. .	169
Lichchavi Kings .. .. .	196
"    Coinage .. .. .	223
Life members .. .. .	146
Line of Udayadeva .. .. .	229
List of members of the BORS on 31st Dec. .. .. .	35,145

## M

Mānadeva and Jishṇu Gupta .. .. .	169
Mānadeva I .. .. .	188
Mānadeva I, exact date of .. .. .	189
Mañjuśrī history of Nepal, Data of .. .. .	211
Manuscripts, search for .. .. .	52
Mathurā mint, Silver coin of Brahmamitra .. .. .	64
Maurya .. .. .	65
Mauryan Public Finance .. .. .	30
Meetings .. .. .	50
Meeting of council, Proceedings of, held on March 15th	36-41
"                    "                    "    July 26th	36-287
"                    "                    "    Sept. 27th	36-289
Meeting, Ordinary, Proceedings of, held on Feb. 20th	36-40
Meeting, Annual, Proceedings of, held on March 25th	36-77
Membership .. .. .	50
Members, List of, B. O. R. S. on 31st Dec. 35 .. .. .	145
"    Honorary .. .. .	145
"    Life .. .. .	146
"    Ordinary .. .. .	147
Miscellaneous Articles .. .. .	108,275
Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal, unrecorded .. .. .	81
Mūradevas, Icons and Yakṣas .. .. .	22



## N

	PAGE
Nāga Vākāṭaka period, new coins of .. ..	70
Narendradeva .. ..	170
Nārāyaṇa, of, Prakriyāsarvasva, c Uṇādisūtras ..	122
Nārāyaṇa's Uṇādivṛtti .. ..	132
Nature, Transformation of in Art, .. ..	22
Nepal .. ..	217
" Gupta dynasties of, .. ..	217
" Gupta's coins of, .. ..	221
" Coinage, Chinese history of .. ..	226
" Chronology & History of, 600 B.C. to 880 A.D. 159-161	
" Early dynasties of, .. ..	160
" Tibetan Era of, .. ..	172
" Mañjuśrī History of, Data of, .. ..	211
Nepal, Chinese account of .. ..	238
" Temples and architecture in 657 A.D. ..	240
" Wang Hiuen-ts'e on, .. ..	241
" Epigraphy of, of the 7th & 8th Centuries ..	243
" Origin of Dual Sovereignty .. ..	244
" Pala's connexion with, & Nepal's later coinage ..	255
" Early dynasties of .. ..	257
" Catalogue, text of Vamśāvalī, .. ..	95
" Chronicles on the caste of the Guptas .. ..	108
New coins of Nāga Vākāṭaka Period .. ..	70
Nimisha Dynasty .. ..	257
Notes of the Quarter .. ..	40, 287
Notices and Reviews of Books .. ..	12, 116, 283

## O

On some Hindu Coins of pre-Christian Centuries ..	59
On the caste of the Guptas, Nepal chronicles ..	108
Ordinary members .. ..	147

## P

Palace, Kailāsakūṭa in 643-657 A.D. .. ..	239
Pāla's connexion with Nepal & Nepal's later coinage ..	255



	PAGE
Pāluru and Dantapura in Northern Ganjam .. ..	I
Pārbatī, an image from, & the Cult of Tārā ..	293
Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇa with Uṇādisūtras ..	122
Pre-Mauryan .. .. .	65
Pre-Christian Centuries, on some Hindu coins of ..	59
Proceedings of ordinary meeting held on Feb. 20 '36 ..	40
"    "    "    Council    "    March 15 '36 ..	41
"    "    "    "    "    July 26 '36 ..	287
"    "    "    "    "    Sep. 27 '36 ..	289
"    "    "    Annual General Meeting held on March 25, 1936 .. .. .	77
Prologue .. .. .	15
Proto-Indian, two, inscriptions from Chāñhu Daro ..	308
Public Finance, Mauryan, .. .	30
Pushyamitra .. .. .	63
Punch marked coins of Tubāṭhi .. .. .	65
Q	
Quarter, notes of the .. .. .	40, 287
R	
Rajadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva .. ..	22
Rājanītiratnākara by Chaṇḍeśvara, App. to Part IV	
Rājgīr (Maniār Maṭh) Stone image inscription ..	79
Report, Annual for 1935-36 .. .. .	50
Retrospect .. .. .	160, 262
Review .. .. .	36
Review and Notices, of Books .. .. .	22, 116, 283
Revolution, dynastic, on the death of Amśuvarman ..	167
S	
Search for manuscripts .. .. .	52
Section, Commemoration Volume .. .. .	143
Sexcentenary Association, Vijayanagar Empire ..	143
Silver coins of Brahmamitra, Mathurā mint ..	64
Siri, coins of, grandson of Bhāga .. .. .	62
Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman .. .. .	168



	PAGE
Speech of His Excellency at the Annual Meeting of the	
Society .. .. .	57
Śrāvastī mint .. .. .	68
Śrāvastī, lead coins of .. .. .	67
Statement of accounts from 1st April 35 to 29th Feb. 36	53
Stone image inscription (Maniār Maṭh) Rājgīr ..	77
Śuṅga .. .. .	59
Śvetavanavāsins Vṛtti .. .. .	122
"    "    Unādivṛtti .. .. .	130

## T

Tārā, Cult of, and an image from Pārbatī ..	293
Temples of Nepal and architecture in 657 A.D. ..	240
Text of the Vamśāvalī .. .. .	95
Ṭhakuris and Lichchavis 350 A.D. to 880 A.D. ..	159, 161
Ṭhakuris after Jayadeva II .. .. .	245
Tibetan Era in Nepal .. .. .	172
Transformation of Nature in Art .. .. .	22
Tughluq, Fīroz Shāh, an Account of .. .. .	96, 265
Two Proto Indian inscription from Chāñhu Daro ..	308

## U

Udayadeva, line of .. .. .	229
Unādisūtras with the Vṛtti of Śvetavanavāsin ..	122
"    with the Prakriyāsarvasva of	
Nārāyaṇa .. .. .	122
"    of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of	
Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa ..	122-135
"    of Kātanra School with Vṛtti of	
Durgā Simha .. .. .	122-137
"    of Śvetavanavāsin .. .. .	130
"    of Nārāyaṇa .. .. .	132
Unrecorded Muhamadan invasion of Nepal ..	81

## V

Vādanyāya (contd. from J.B.O.R.S. Dec. 35) ..	75
Vamśāvalī, Text of the, Nepal catalogue i, pl. 8 ..	95



	PAGE
” Confusion in Chronological order explained .. ..	183
Vedāṅga Jyautisha .. ..	283
Verse .. .. 15, 16, 17, 18, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103 104, 105, 106, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274	
Vijayanagar Empire, Sexcentenary Association ..	143
Vṛtti of Śvetavanavāsin with the Uṇādisūtras ..	122
” of Daṇḍanātha .. ..	122, 135
” of Durgā Simha .. ..	122, 137

## W

Wan Hiuen-Ts’E on Nepal .. ..	241
Winternitz, Professor, on the Kaumudī Mahotsava ..	275

## Y

Yakṣas, Icons and Mūra-devas .. ..	22
Yaudhaya mint, discovery of .. ..	59
Year, initial, of the era of Amśuvarman .. ..	164









